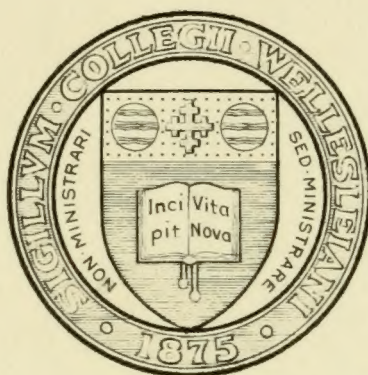


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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND AND NORMANDY.

BY
ORDERICUS VITALIS.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,
AND THE INTRODUCTION OF GUIZOT,
BY THOMAS FORESTER, M.A.

VOL. I.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

ORDERICUS VITALIS, in his personal and literary history, as well as in the annals which compose the most valuable part of his voluminous work, forms a connecting link between the English and Norman writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Born in England, and having received the first rudiments of learning at Shrewsbury, he was removed at an early age to a monastery in Normandy, in which he completed his education, and passed the rest of his life in the duties of his monastic profession and in literary labours. These, as M. Guizot has remarked were "especially devoted to the glory of Normandy;"* and, doubtless, that was the field on which all his immediate associations led him to dwell with the greatest freedom, and to cultivate in its minutest details.

But Ordericus did not forget his native country; he so gloried in the name of "Englishman" that it is added to his Norman designation of "monk of St. Evroult" in his autograph manuscript; and the accounts he gives of English affairs generally, during the reigns of the three first Norman kings, interspersed with local and personal matters of considerable interest, exhibit the same careful research, if they are not so diffuse, as the portion of his work devoted to

* *Notice sur Orderic Vital*, prefixed to the French translation of our author's History.

Normandy. He undertook a journey to England for the express purpose of collecting materials, and his connection with the family of the great Earl of Shrewsbury, who had possessions in both countries, would give him access to precise information on English affairs. In point of fact, he alternately transports his readers from Normandy to England, and from England to Normandy, two states which may be considered to have formed in his time almost an united kingdom, and he treats the affairs of both with nearly equal precision.

There is a peculiar advantage in studying English history from such a point of view, during a period when many of its most eminent characters were playing a distinguished part in both countries. England was surrendering to the invaders her broad acres and free institutions, and the churches and monasteries were being filled and remodelled by Norman ecclesiastics, while she was adopting the feudal tenures, the rules of chivalry, and the habits and manners of the conquerors, and their magnificent architecture was employed in raising stately cathedrals, abbeys, and castles in all quarters. On these subjects, and others connected with the changes then taking place in the social and dynastic system of England, Ordericus was better qualified to throw strong light than any English historian of the time. The advanced stages of his education, and almost all the associations of his maturer life were foreign. His family ties had been somewhat rudely severed, and he was torn from his native country at an age when it would hardly fail to leave some impression on so intelligent a mind; and it appears from several passages in his work that he fondly cherished recollections of it in the land of the stranger. What thus remained of English feeling probably contributed, in combination with his natural honesty and simplicity of character, to the general impartiality of his narrative of English

affairs, and the sympathy he betrays for the sufferings of his countrymen and their patriotic struggles against Norman usurpation.

While such are our author's claims to the consideration of the students of history his works have hitherto received in England a share of attention very disproportionate to that which they have obtained in France. The History of Ordericus Vitalis has never yet been published in England, and private enterprise is now employed in carrying into effect, in a popular shape, what both a royal commission and a literary association have alike failed in accomplishing. In France, the original text of Ordericus was printed, as early as the year 1619, in Duchesne's Collection of the Norman Historians, published at Paris, but it was never reprinted in this country; and besides its being suited only to readers of erudition, the work has now become somewhat scarce. Within the last thirty years, however, no less than two distinct editions of Ordericus have been published at Paris under the auspices of the Historical Society of France. The first, which commenced in 1826, is a French version, accompanied by a few notes explaining localities, by M. Louis du Bois. It is prefixed by a *Notice* from the pen of M. Guizot, who was then Professor of Modern History in the Academy of Paris, giving particulars of the several manuscripts of Ordericus now extant, a short account of the author's life, and an estimate of his character, which it has been thought desirable to translate and print as an introduction to the present work.

In 1838, the French Historical Society undertook an edition of the original text of Ordericus, which was confided to the editorial care of M. Auguste Le Prevost. Four volumes octavo have been already published at Paris, containing twelve books of the History, and the thirteenth is announced to be in the press. This work does great credit

to all concerned in it, being edited and printed with extreme accuracy, after a laborious collation of the best manuscripts and illustrated by a vast number of valuable notes. The translation now presented to the English reader is based upon this edition of the author's text, compared, from time to time, with that of Duchesne, in which, as elsewhere observed, there are numerous errors. Free use has been made of the notes appended to the last Paris edition, and some are added, having in general more especial reference to English affairs.

August 20, 1853.

T. F.

M. GUIZOT'S

INTRODUCTION TO THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

OF all the works published in our collection,¹ that of Ordericus Vitalis is the most extensive, a sure proof of the claims it possesses to more than ordinary attention. The annals of that age are generally characterised by the brevity of their details, and the dryness of their style. It would seem that the genius of the author was so dull and barren that it satisfied itself with simply accepting the facts presented to his notice, without being alive to any necessity of accounting for them, of connecting them with other circumstances, or of adding the reflections required to give them further consistency than the mere order of dates. In those times of darkness and isolation, the life of man was so confined, and his views so circumscribed, that even curiosity seemed to have lost its influence, and an elevated position, or a stirring career, supplied the only situations in which the intellectual horizon was extended, and an earnest desire for information excited; but those who found themselves by birth or accident in such unusual circumstances devoted all their time and efforts to action, and were too much occupied in playing their part in the history of the times to give themselves any trouble about writing it. Among the men of rank who flourished in the age of which we are collecting memorials, two bishops, Gregory of Tours, and William of Tyre, are the only persons who found leisure to bequeath to posterity any lengthened account of events, the character of which their situation led them to penetrate; their histories therefore, the most extensive we have yet published, are also, regard being had to the difference of the times, the most interesting, the most useful, and the most rich in valuable details. Ordericus Vitalis

¹ *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, published by the Historical Society of France, from 1834 to 1852.

exhibits, if not in the same degree, at least the same kind of superiority over the writers of his own age; which is the more remarkable in his case, because no external circumstances, no advantages of position, contributed to rouse or sustain the activity of his mind. A simple monk, buried in the depths of the most secluded forests of Normandy, his own genius, his instinctive ardour for acquiring information, the patience with which he pursued his researches, supplied the incentives and the opportunities for collecting materials for his vast undertaking.

Ordericus was born in England on the fifteenth of February, 1075, at Attingham,¹ on the banks of the Severn, the residence of his father Odelirius, a native of Orleans, who, at the time of the Norman conquest, was a follower of Roger de Montgomery, afterwards created Earl of Shrewsbury, to whose household he continued to be attached in the character of one of his council. Ordericus received the name of his godfather, a Saxon priest and curate of the parish, who both baptized him and undertook the office of sponsor. At the age of five years, Ordericus was sent to school at Shrewsbury, where he learnt reading, grammar, and the chants used in the church, under a master whose name was Siegward.² It would appear that his own father was a man of some learning, a clerk, and a priest, for at that time, particularly in England, priests were not absolutely forbidden to marry. But a more perfect state of life was known, and Odelirius, who was now become a widower, thought it his duty not only to renounce himself all worldly attachments, but to withdraw from them his eldest son Ordericus, then ten years old. He therefore devoted him as well as himself to the religious life, and retired to a monastery in Great Britain.³ Shortly afterwards, however, his mind became disturbed by the obstacles which family ties were

¹ Atcham, a village near Shrewsbury, where the Terne falls into the Severn. Our author tells us, book v. c. 1, that he was born on the 14th of the calends of March, which answers to the *sixteenth* of February. He was baptized on the Saturday of Easter, the 4th of April following.

² Siward, "a noble priest," as our author calls him. He was of Anglo-Danish extraction, connected with the blood-royal of the Saxon kings, and also, it would appear, in some way with the Earl of Shrewsbury, the patron of Odelirius. Siward had built a small wooden church in the suburbs of that town, which becoming the property of Odelirius, was given by him for the site of the stately Benedictine abbey founded there by the earl.

³ Odelirius assumed the monastic habit, after the death of his patron, in the abbey he had lately assisted in founding at Shrewsbury, where he also entered his youngest son, Benedict, to be brought up as a monk. He further endowed the abbey with one half of all the estates which the earl had conferred upon him, reserving the other moiety to his remaining son Everard, our author's second brother, to be held as a fief under the abbey.

calculated to offer to his salvation, and he thought that neither his own nor his son's would be secure if they remained in the same monastery. In order, therefore, to render their separation more entire and more irrevocable,¹ he made him cross the sea, sending him to Normandy under the care of a monk named Ragnold, where Ordericus, making an endowment of thirty silver marks, entered the abbey of Ouche, belonging to the rule of St. Benedict, and founded by St. Evroult, an Orleanais saint, for whom Odelirius, as his countryman, felt especial veneration. This abbey, which at a later period took its founder's name, stood in that part of the diocese of Lisieux which is now included in the department of the Orne. Buried in the bosom of forests, enriched since the eleventh century with a considerable library, and inhabited by monks who were the friends of learning, the abbey of Ouche was a retreat well calculated to foster the studious turn of mind which, it is said, was already remarked in the young novice. John, the sub-prior of the abbey, had the charge of his education, and formed a strong attachment for him ; he also gained the goodwill of the rest of the monks, and among others that of Mainier, then abbot of St. Evroult. Ordericus entered the monastery in the year 1085. The year following, on the 22nd of September, the feast of St. Maurice, he received the tonsure, changing at the same time his English name of Ordericus for that of Vitalis,² one of the companions of the saint whose memory was that day observed. On the 15th of March, 1091, Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, admitted him to the order of sub-deacon at the request of Serlo d'Orgères, the then abbot of St. Evroult ; and two years afterwards, on the 26th of March, 1093, Serlo himself, having then become bishop of Lisieux, ordained him deacon. Ordericus was then eighteen years of age. All the records of those ancient times concur in informing us with what holy fear truly pious men then regarded the duties of the priesthood, how they shrunk from undertaking them, and often only consented to accept the office upon the express command of their superiors. It was not till fifteen years afterwards, the 21st of December, 1107, that

¹ Our author pays an affectionate tribute to his father's memory in book v. c. 14 of the following History, where he says that he never saw him again after this early separation. See also book v. c. 1.

² The name Ordericus, is also variously written *Odericus*, *Udalricus*, &c. The last seems to point to the priest from whom our author derived his name of baptism, being, as well as his schoolmaster, of Scandinavian extraction. He tells us that it was changed to Vitalis, because his former name appeared barbarous to the Normans. There seems an impropriety in the common practice of combining his name of baptism with that of his profession, as the latter superseded the former. He always calls himself simply Vitalis, but there is authority for using both names in the oldest MSS. of his works.

William Bonne-Ame, archbishop of Rouen laid on Ordericus, as he tells us himself, "the burden of the priesthood."¹

Such are the simple facts which the writings of this excellent monk supply concerning his own life. Taking no part in worldly affairs, and equally a stranger to the high places of his own profession, we find him never quitting his retirement but, on one occasion, to attend a general chapter of the order of St. Benedict convoked by the abbot of Cluni, and for two journeys, one to Worcester,² the other to Cambray, both, as it would appear, undertaken for the purpose of procuring information necessary in the prosecution of his literary works. These formed the sole employment of his life, and he does not appear to have pushed his labours to extreme old age, for he tells us, at the close of his history, that he had reached his sixty-seventh year, and the thirty-fourth of his ministry in the priesthood, when he felt himself compelled by age and infirmities to bring his work to a close; and it is scarcely probable that, after a career so occupied, release from labour very long preceded that from life. We ought then, if I am not mistaken, to place the death of Ordericus Vitalis in the year 1141, or at the latest in 1142. The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* have fixed the year 1143 as the period at which his work concluded; but they are evidently under a mistake, for at the end of his last book Ordericus speaks of Stephen king of England as being at that time in confinement, but that prince, who was made prisoner at the battle of Lincoln on the 20th of February, 1141, was exchanged in the month of November of the same year. Again, he mentions the death of John, bishop of Lisieux, as having occurred so recently that his successor was not yet appointed; and the bishop died on the 21st of May, 1141. Besides which, he reckons eleven years from the election of Pope Innocent II., which took place in the month of February, 1130. Everything therefore concurs in pointing out the year 1141 as the period at which Ordericus found himself under the necessity of terminating the labours to which his life was consecrated.

His work, devoted in an especial manner to the glory of Normandy, comprised originally but the seven last books, in which Norman history, in point of fact, holds the first place. At a later period he added four books, the present third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, to enable himself to give fuller particulars of some events,

¹ He was ordained priest on the feast of St. Thomas, 1107, in company with one hundred and twenty others, being then, as he tells us, thirty-three years of age. Book xi. c. 30, and book xiii. at the end.

² During this journey to England our author also spent some weeks at Croyland Abbey, where, as he tells us, he collected the materials for several chapters of his fourth book, and, at the request of the monks, composed the epitaph on Earl Waltheof. See book iv. c. 15—17.

as well as to connect the glory of Normandy with that of the abbey of Ouche, on the foundation and progress of which the new books enter into minute details. Furthermore, having a due regard to his own character, and ambitious of the honour of bequeathing to posterity a complete universal history, from the birth of Jesus Christ to his own day, he composed the first and second books, containing long extracts from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and legends which give an account of the establishment of Christianity in Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe, concluding the whole with short chronicles, or rather tables of the emperors and popes. Then, at last, Ordericus considered his work complete, and gave it the title of an *Ecclesiastical History*, a title which singularly exhibits, as we have elsewhere observed, how far the church had then become the centre of society.

It is plain enough that the way in which his work was put together has contributed in no small degree to the confusion which reigns throughout the writings of the monk of St. Evroult: his whole object having been to make collections from all quarters of facts, traditions, adventures, acts, and letters, his work repeatedly changed its form and its object while under his hands, and he gave himself but little trouble, except to find a place in it, no matter in what order, for all the stores of information he had gathered. Accordingly, on more than one occasion his materials seem thrown together pell-mell, as chance or opportunity brought them into the author's power; sometimes he interrupts the course of his narrative by dividing the account of a particular event into distinct portions, separated by long intervals; and, at others, he repeats the same story in different parts of his work; so that the reader is continually surprised by the strange manner in which times, and places, and subjects, the most distant and the most incongruous, are brought together. No sort of art or method appears to have been used in combining this prodigious mass of facts, and when the work is considered as a whole, from a single point of view, one cannot fail, on a first impression, of being most sensible of this striking confusion. But this irregular surface covers a mine of real wealth. No book contains so much and such valuable information on the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the political state, both civil and religious, of society in the west of Europe, and on the manners of the times, whether feudal, monastic, or popular. In his genuine honesty and native frankness, Ordericus makes no attempt to argue anything, to conceal anything: he tells his story, and gives his opinion; he blames or approves, without any other idea but that of publishing what he knows and what he thinks. Simple, credulous, and having no pretensions to be considered a sagacious observer, or a

critic, still he was independent and sincere—rare merits among the monkish chroniclers of his own age, who, besides, are quite as deficient as himself in those qualities wherein he failed.

The History of Ordericus has not hitherto been translated; the version which we now present to the public is the work of M. Louis du Bois, of Lisieux, a man of letters, whose modesty is equal to his diligence, and who, having devoted himself to all that is interesting in connection with Normandy, his native country, is already well known by some useful works on the antiquities and statistics of that fine province. The principal difficulties which lie in the way of the readers of Ordericus Vitalis arise from the vast variety of minute circumstances, of distant allusions, and of geographical references, connected with Normandy. It was, therefore, of importance that the translation should be made on the very spot, among the recollections to which it would give rise, and by a person capable of explaining the local obscurities, so to speak, of the text, in short but frequent notes. M. Du Bois, having kindly undertaken this minute task, will best be able to give an account of his proceedings, and we therefore propose to close this notice by subjoining an exact copy of the report with which he has favoured us, respecting the manuscripts of the historians of St. Evroult, the labours of which they were the object, and the researches to which he has devoted himself.¹

“In the earliest manuscripts of Ordericus Vitalis, his work takes the title of *Orderici Vitalis Angli Monachi Uticensis Historia Ecclesiastica*. It is thus entitled in a manuscript which came from the abbey of St. Evroult itself, and, as we are inclined to believe, in the author’s own hand-writing, of which we shall presently speak more in detail. Duchesne was unaware of the existence of this autograph, and printed his edition from more recent manuscripts, under the title of *Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ Cœnobii Uticensis Monachi, libri xiii*.

“The autograph manuscript of the abbey of St. Evroult served in former times for the original of the different copies which were dispersed of this important history.

“In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a monk of St.

¹ M. Du Bois was the author of an able article on the life of Ordericus Vitalis, published in 1822 in the *Bibliographie Universelle*, which has supplied the materials for the present notice. It would appear from some expressions at the close of the article, that he then contemplated using the result of his researches in publishing a corrected edition of the text of Ordericus, lamenting, however, that, at that time, the publication of works of erudition, particularly in Latin, was a difficult enterprise for an individual. He seems to have changed his intention, and four years afterwards began to publish his translation.

Evrault (probably Vallin), made a copy of this manuscript, which was then composed of four volumes, and in a perfect state. The copy formed also four volumes, in a handwriting which, though not very close, was almost illegible. According to Charles du Jardin, prior of the abbey of St. Evroult in 1717, the two first volumes of this copy were then at the abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen, and the two others at that of Glanfeuil-sur-Loire. I have reason to think that the prior Du Jardin was mistaken; the two volumes now in the library at Rouen, which were brought from St. Ouen, are the two last of the work, containing the seven last books.

“The royal library possesses the following MSS. of Ordericus: No. 5122, MS. de Bigot; the one which Duchesne used. No. 5123, MS. de Colbert, two volumes. No. 5124, MS. de Baluz, two volumes, containing only the five first books.

[These MSS. are in folio, written on paper, and all of the sixteenth century.]

No. 5506, MS. de Colbert, as No. 5123. 2 volumes on vellum, containing only the six first books.

“There is also in the same library, No. 4861, a MS. on vellum in folio, mixed with others which came from Bigot, and containing a fragment entitled: *Fragmentum ex Orderici Vitalis histori libro tertio de novis monachorum Cistercentium, et aliorum illius sæculi institutis*. This copy is the more curious because it is of the thirteenth century.

“Independently of these different copies, which are more or less faulty, and even incomplete, there is in the library of St. Germain-des-Prés, a copy of the three first books, bequeathed to it by Coaslin de Cambout, and made in the sixteenth century, at the time when the autograph was still perfect, by Vallin, a monk of St Evroult, who dedicated it to his abbot Felix de Brie.

The most valuable manuscript of Ordericus Vitalis was preserved in the abbey in which he wrote his history. We have now indeed only the fragments of this autograph, but even the fragments are precious. I had the pleasure of saving them from imminent danger of destruction at L'Aigle in 1799, just after I was nominated by the assembly librarian of the central school of the Orme, and I hastened to deposit them in the establishment committed to my care. The manuscript forms a quarto volume, written on parchment, which the monks of St. Evroult, in their negligence, during the seventeenth century, took no care to have fresh bound until they had suffered great part to decay and be lost. We know that it was perfect at the commencement of the preceding century, because a copy of it was then made, which, though unfortunately marked by blanks and omissions, is still of great value. What remains of this autograph is as follows: book vii., four leaves;

books ix., x., xi., xii., and xiii., are complete, except the four or five last leaves.

“I feel certain that this valuable manuscript is really an autograph, as the monks of St. Evoult believed it to be from the circumstance of its having been inserted in a catalogue taken shortly after the death of Ordericus Vitalis. Among many reasons that might be offered in justification of this opinion, I shall confine myself to these : the manuscript is not illustrated ; it is written on common parchment, in small sheets ; it is in general very clear, but there are places in which it has been corrected ; and since the twelfth century, that is a few years only after the death of the author, it passed for having been written with his own hand a short time before. I insist the more on these points, because at the period when this manuscript saw the light the abbey possessed very skilful copyists who have left magnificent copies of some of the Fathers of the church, and several other works, all transcribed with great beauty on the finest vellum, and in a folio shape. Assuredly therefore, if they had made a transcript of Ordericus, it would have had all the embellishments which the historian of their own community of St. Evroult, and the achievements of the Normans, so justly merited.

“M. La Croix du Maine is the first of our bibliographers who called attention to Ordericus Vitalis. He remarks, with justice, that good manuscripts of this historian have been always scarce ; that even John Bale does not mention him in his list of English authors, nor do other compilers of biography and literary history. It appears from what La Croix du Maine says further, that he had in his possession a fine manuscript of Ordericus, which he intended to publish ; but this intention was never carried into effect.

“It was not till the year 1619 that the learned Andrew Duchesne published his Ordericus Vitalis in the collection to which he gave the title of, *Historiæ Normannorum scriptores antiqui*. The thirteen books of the Ecclesiastical History are the most important work contained in this valuable collection, now become scarce and dear : they fill 606 pages of the volume. Duchesne printed his edition from the manuscript of J. Bigot : unfortunately he omitted to collate it with the other manuscripts to which he might have had access, and more especially with the autograph in the library of St. Evroult. He even increased the confusion by taking no pains with the marginal dates he affixed, so that events quite different in point of time and character are often marked with the same date.

“These deficiencies, which were generally acknowledged, induced Bessin, the Benedictine, to whom we are indebted for the *Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciæ*, fol. 1717, to undertake a new and better edition of Duchesne’s Ordericus. With this view, he

had made a great number of corrections on a copy of the edition of 1619 by collating it with a manuscript then the property of M. Mareste, advocate-general to the chamber of accounts of Normandy. He had besides, in 1722, the valuable assistance of Charles du Jardin, prior of the abbey of St. Evroult, who had made great proficiency in calligraphical studies. All was ready for the press, and the bookseller, Behourt, was on the point of undertaking the work, when the death of Bessin, which happened in 1726, put an end to this useful publication, and the project was no further thought of. I have had the advantage of the labours of Bessin and Du Jardin, and the volume they prepared for publication has been of essential service; but still I found that even after the care it had received from these learned and indefatigable Benedictins, there was much to reap, and I trust I have been able to do so with some profit.

“The learned and judicious authors of that great work, the *Collection of the Historians of France*, did not omit including in it so important a writer as Ordericus; they have accomplished this successfully by dividing their extracts in the following manner:—

Extracts from books i., iii., v., vi., and vii., in *tome ix.*, pp. 10 to 18; from books i., iii., vii., in *tome x.*, in pp. 234 to 236; from books i., iii., iv., v., vi., and vii., in *tome xi.*, pp. 221 to 248; and from books i. and iv. to xiii., in *tome xii.*, pp. 285 to 770.

“Dom Bouquet made the first of these extracts; those contained in *tome xii.*, which are the longest and the most interesting, are the work of M. Briae, who has not incurred the censures justly applied to his predecessor.

“After these learned labours, there still remained some useful objects to be obtained.

“As I have before remarked, I did not fail to take advantage of what had been accomplished by Bessin and Du Jardin; but besides this, I have made use of some new observations procured from St. Evroult, have made a collation of the different manuscripts with extreme care, which I have since repeated at Rouen, with the assistance of two accomplished Normans, whose learning is only equalled by their obliging disposition, M. Auguste Le Prevost, who is in possession of very valuable collections, relating to the history of Normandy, and M. Theodore Liquet, who has been kind enough to communicate to me the manuscript of the library at Rouen, of which he is the keeper.

“Some important corrections and numerous additions have been the fruits of these labours. Besides, a long study of the antiquities, the history, and the geography of Normandy has placed at my disposal a vast mass of information, which I trust will throw some light on our author's statements. The number of explanatory notes appended at the bottom of the pages form

the best proof of the pains I have for twenty years bestowed on this undertaking. Still, however, I dare not flatter myself that I have cleared up all the obscurities, filled up all the gaps, and ascertained exactly all the names of places and proper names. The difficulties have been enormous; but I have used all the means in my power to overcome them.

“However this may be, it may be asserted with truth that, of all our ancient provinces, there is none in comparison with Normandy, which has been the scene of such celebrated events, and given birth to such distinguished men, none which can boast so many and such excellent historians; and that of all these historians, Ordericus Vitalis is the most important, while, though continually quoted, his work has never been translated, nor even correctly published.”

F. G.

THE PREFACE

OF

ORDERICUS VITALIS.

FORMER writers, from early times, carefully remarking the occurrences of the passing age, have noted the good or evil which befell mankind for a warning to others; and while thus continually aiming to benefit posterity, they heaped volume upon volume. We see, for instance, that this was done by Moses, Daniel, and the other sacred writers; and we discover the same object in the works of Dares of Phrygia,¹ Pompeius Trogus,² and other gentile historians; of Eusebius,³ Orosius, who wrote the History

¹ Considering the age in which Ordericus Vitalis lived, we need not be surprised at finding him place Dares of Phrygia at the head of the writers of profane history. A Trojan priest of that name is said to have composed an account of the Trojan War; the history, however, attributed to him is a spurious composition, and its origin may be placed somewhere between the fifth and eighth centuries; but it was so much in vogue in the middle ages, that a translation in French verse was current in the eleventh century.

² Pompeius Trogus, a Roman historian, flourished in the time of Augustus. He wrote a history of the Macedonian empire, of which we have only an Epitome by Justin.

³ Eusebius (Pamphilus) became bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 313, and died

of the World;¹ of Bede the Englishman, Paul of Monte Cassino,² and the rest of the ecclesiastical writers. I peruse their accounts with delight, I praise and admire the elegance and usefulness of their works, and recommend the learned of our age to imitate their invaluable remains. But, without presuming to dictate to others, at least I contend against self-indulgence in enervating sloth, and, rousing myself to exertion, desire to undertake some work which may be acceptable to my immediate superiors.³ In my account of the restoration of the monastery of St. Evroult,⁴ written by the command of Abbot Roger, I adhered faithfully to the simple truth, choosing to speak frankly of the great men of this perverse age, whether good or bad, and relying solely on my honesty of purpose, without making any pretensions to a polished style or the gifts of eloquence.

My present object is to treat of what passes under our

about 338. He has left a number of works, displaying great learning and ability, the best known being his "Ecclesiastical History," which has met with three Latin translators, and an English translation from the original Greek is published in the "Ecclesiastical Library," uniformly with the present series.

¹ Orosius (Paul), a Spanish ecclesiastic, born at Tarragona, who flourished in the fifth century. By the advice of St. Augustine, he undertook his "History of the World," here called the "Ormesta;" an unintelligible word, unless, as some commentators have conjectured, it is a corruption of Hormisdas, an additional name of Orosius.

² Better known as Paul the Deacon; he died in the monastery of Monte Cassino, about A.D. 799.

³ *Simplicibus summitatis.*—*Duchesne.* The former word is omitted in the Latin text of the French edition, though the sense of it is expressed in M. Du Bois' translation. Ordericus means his monastic superiors.

⁴ The popular name of this abbey, derived from its founder St. Evroult, is adopted in the present translation. Ordericus Vitalis calls it "Uticense cœnobium," or "Uticum," that is, the Abbey of the Ouche. It was in the diocese of Lisieux in Normandy, near the limits of the present departments of the Eure and the Orne.

own observation, or we are called upon to endure. For it is fitting that as new events continually occur they should be carefully committed to writing, to the praise of God ; and thus, as the history of the past has been handed down to us by preceding writers, so also a relation of what is going on around us should be transmitted to future generations by the pen of contemporaries. I propose to treat of ecclesiastical affairs with the modesty becoming a humble son of the church ; and to the best of my ability, diligently treading in the steps of the ancient fathers, I shall search out and give to the world the modern history of Christendom, venturing to call my unpretending work "An Ecclesiastical History."

Confined to my cloister by the vows which have voluntarily bound me to the strict observance of the monastic rule, I am unable to make researches into the affairs of Alexandria, Greece, or Rome, and others worthy to be related ; but I labour, by God's help, to unfold with truth contemporary events for the instruction of posterity,—both such as have passed under my own observation, and those which, occurring in neighbouring countries, have come to my knowledge. I firmly believe, however, from observation of the past, that some one will arise with far more penetration than myself, and more capable of examining the course of worldly affairs, who will perhaps extract from my pages, and from those of others of the same class, what he thinks worthy of being inserted in his chronicle or history for the information of posterity.

I derive confidence from having begun my work by the express command of the venerable Abbot Roger,¹ when he was advanced in years, and from now submitting it to you,

¹ Roger du Sap, elected abbot of Saint Evroult in 1091 ; was consecrated Aug. 23, 1093 ; resigned in 1123 ; died Jan. 13, 1126.

father Guérin,¹ his lawful successor according to the order of the church, that its redundancies may be expunged, and its errors rectified, and, being thus corrected, it may be stamped with your judicious authority. I shall treat first of the Source of all things, itself having no beginning, by whose aid I trust to persevere to the end, which, in truth, is endless, and to sing for ever, with the blessed above, devout praises to Him who is the Alpha and Omega.

¹ Guérin des Essarts, or the Little, who probably derived his surname from the commune des Essarts, near St. Evroult, succeeded Roger du Sap in 1123; died June 20, 1137.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
ORDERICUS VITALIS.

BOOK I.¹

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Christ—Chronology of the event.

THE Almighty Word, by whom God the Father created all things, is the true vine: and the Lord of the household who planted this vine cultivates the vineyard—that is, holy church—by means of the labourers sent into it, from dawn of day to the eleventh hour, that he may gather from it abundant fruit. He never ceases tending this vine, and propagating its magnificent branches, throughout every region of the world. He, indeed, the true King of ages, the true High Priest of good things to come, the true Prophet, and the Lord of men and angels, ineffably “anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows,” the Angel of the covenant of the Father’s unfathomable counsels,—He (according to the oracles of the prophets, who, taught by the Holy Spirit, shone as stars in the

¹ Duchesne, in his edition, divided the history into three parts, one of which included the two first books, with the following title here prefixed: “The first part, containing short annals of affairs, from the incarnation of Christ to the year of our Lord, 1149, with the succession of emperors, kings, and Roman pontiffs.” As however, this title is not found in the MS. of St. Evroult, and is omitted in the recent French edition, it is not inserted in the present text.

darkness of this world, and, like the cock which by his crowing awakes slumbering man before day-break, foretold the mysteries of the Lord's advent) chose for his mother, among many thousand women, Mary, the royal virgin, descended from the house of king David, and wonderfully endowed with the fulness of grace. This blessed Virgin, thus adorned with distinguished virtues, having been miraculously espoused to that just man, Joseph, saluted by the archangel Gabriel, and overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, conceived without sin, and brought forth without pain, on the eighth of the calends of January (25th of December), the Saviour, who was the desire of all nations. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem, a city of Juda, at the time of the first census, when Cirinus¹ was governor of Syria, according to the order of all the prophecies which had announced his coming. Glorious signs, as the sacred oracles relate, appeared in heaven at the birth of Christ, and the angels with pious thanksgivings for the salvation of man, sang: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!"² Thus, in the forty-second year of the reign of Cæsar Augustus, twenty-eight years after the deaths of Cleopatra and Anthony, when Egypt became a Roman province, in the third year of the 193rd olympiad, and 752 years after the foundation of Rome, that is to say, at the time when Octavianus Cæsar, having restored order among all the nations of the earth, and, by God's providence, established a most firm and secure peace, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, consecrated by his advent the sixth age of the world. From the creation to the birth of Christ, we reckon 3952 years, according to the correct Hebrew chronology; after the computation of Isidore, bishop of Seville, and some other doctors, there are 5154 years; again, according to the calculation of Eusebius of Cæsarea and Saint Jerome, we find 5231 years between the birth of Adam and the eighteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, when Christ suffered on the cross.

Let the whole multitude of believers rejoice in the Holy Spirit, unceasingly adoring the eternal Creator, and offering

¹ P. Sulpicius Quirinus.

² Luke ii. 1—14.

with their whole hearts a sacrifice of praise to Him, who appointed his only Son, co-eternal and consubstantial with himself and the Holy Spirit, to take upon him our flesh and redeem the servant of sin from a well-merited death by the undeserved death of his own Son! For our merciful Maker, who had fashioned man after his own image and similitude, was grieved at his fall, and decreed, in his secret and unfathomable counsels, that his Son, co-equal with himself, should visit the condemned servant in prison, and lovingly bring back man on his own shoulders from captivity to the flock, and heartily rejoice the nine orders of angels by the re-establishment of their number.

CHAPTER II.

Circumcision of Christ—Offering of the wise men.

THUS, the Son of God, made man, remained what he was, and took upon him what he was not, without confusion or division of substance; but ruling all things, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, by his divinity, and enduring all the infirmities of our flesh by the assumption of humanity. The law which he had given by Moses, he kept inviolate; and, himself a lawgiver, fulfilled all righteousness. Thus, on the eighth day, he was circumcised, and on the fortieth, was presented to his Father in the temple, with the legal offering.¹

Although the Virgin Mother wrapped her divine Son in swaddling clothes, although tight bandages swathed his feet and hands, although the tender infant, concealed within a narrow manger, uttered the cries of that human misery which it was the will of the Father that he should take upon himself; yet the High God was manifested by a new star appearing in the heavens, and the eastern Magi, thus guided, sought for him at Bethlehem, found him cradled in a manger, and worshipped him as God. The wise men then opened their treasures, and presented to Christ three costly presents, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, thus proclaiming

¹ Luke ii. 21, 24.

him King of kings, true God, and mortal man. The first fruits of the election of the Gentiles were consecrated in those who hastened to Christ in Bethlehem from Saba, and from other nations scattered through the world. Being warned by an angel in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed, rejoicing, into their own country another way.¹

When the days of her purification were accomplished, the holy Virgin Mother presented herself in the temple, and, offering the child to God his Father, Simeon, that just and devout man, took him up in his arms. Although bowed with age, he rejoiced in God, because he had now before his eyes the long-expected Saviour of the nations, revealed to him by the Holy Ghost; he took him in his hands, announced to the people that he was the Master of life and death, and blessed him before the admiring multitude who leaped for joy.

Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, came into the temple at that moment rejoicing; this widow, endowed with every virtue, knew that Christ was there, and announced to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem, that the Saviour was come. His parents offered for him the sacrifice of a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons,—a figure of the spotless purity and the gentle simplicity of the church.²

Behold, then, how not only the angels in heaven, but also mortals of every age and of both sexes, gave their testimony to the Lord born in the flesh. The Virgin Mary, conceived by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, brought forth her child, suckled him, and, by his aid, effectually ministered to all his wants. John, leaping for joy in his mother's womb, saluted the Lord, and Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost, spoke three times in prophetic language of the Messiah and his mother. The angels glorified God who had become incarnate for the redemption of man, rejoicing to see us redeemed and added to their number. The shepherds, instructed by the angelic visitation, hasten to Bethlehem and search in a stable for the living bread which comes down from heaven; they find Him who rules the heavens,

¹ Matt. ii. 1—12.

² Luke ii. 22—38.

an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes. The hearts of the shepherds, when they heard from the heralds the tidings of Christ, were filled with joy and wonder. Zacharias and Simeon, both righteous men, at the end of their earthly career, confess their belief in Christ, and predict his future history; and the blessed Anna, bending with years, partakes of their love of Christ.¹

But, while the righteous were rejoicing with exceeding great joy, the impious Herod, hearing strange rumours, was troubled, and commanded that all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, should be slain. When, therefore, Joseph had taken Jesus and his immaculate mother into Egypt, the fury of Herod vented itself in the massacre of the infants, and the fields of Bethlehem were watered with the blood of the innocents.² But Christ received into his own mansions those who were slain in his stead, where they enjoy everlasting felicity.

CHAPTER III.

Christ's baptism.

OUR Saviour dwelt on the earth thirty-two years and three months, but he was without sin, and spake no guile; and he alone among the dead was found free from guilt. At the beginning of his thirtieth year, he went down to the river Jordan, received the sacrament of baptism at the hands of John, and by so doing, sanctified the waters, and set his disciples an example of the most perfect humility. While Jesus was praying after his baptism, the heavens were opened unto him, and the Holy Ghost was seen to descend upon him in a bodily shape like a dove, and the voice of his Father was heard from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."³ John indeed deserves the first place among them that are born of women, for Christ placed himself in his hands to be bap-

¹ Luke i. 41—80; ii. 25—40.

² Matt. ii. 3—18.

³ Matt. iii. 13, 16, 17; Mark i. 9—11; Luke iii. 21, 22; John i. 29—33.

tized, the invisible Spirit showed itself to him in a visible shape, and God the Father proclaimed from heaven his Son to him. Thus the mystery of the Trinity was manifested to the blessed forerunner in our Saviour's baptism.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the twelfth year of his age, was found in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, not teaching them, but asking them questions. He was baptized at the age of thirty, and thenceforth proved his divine mission by miracles. During the space of three years He performed miracles and taught his disciples.¹ This triennial period shadows forth the sacrament of our baptism, by means of faith in the Holy Trinity, and the operation of the legal decalogue. Our divine Lawgiver also teaches men, by his example, that they should not venture to speak in public or preach at too early an age, or eagerly covet preferment; but be content to wait humbly for the proper and appointed time for their admission to the priesthood, or the office of teaching.

CHAPTER IV.

Chronology of Christ's ministry.

It is now my purpose to examine the series of our Lord's miracles recorded in the four gospels, giving a faithful compendium which may serve easily to recall them to the mind. I shall trace the succession of events as the four evangelists have related them, and, by His help who makes eloquent the tongues of infants, I hope to sum them up in a short account. As I have determined to give a correct chronography, it is right that I should begin with endeavouring diligently to fix exact dates, as the holy evangelists, and other historians, long ago supplied them in their writings.

Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, nephew of Caius Julius Cæsar by his sister Octavia, succeeded his uncle as the second emperor of Rome, and reigned fifty-six years and six

¹ Luke ii. 42, 46; iii. 23.

months;¹ in the forty-second year of whose reign Christ was born. Tiberius Cæsar, the step-son of Augustus, being the son of his wife Livia by a former husband, reigned twenty-three years; in his eighteenth year Christ redeemed the world by suffering on the cross.² After the death of Herod, the son of Antipater of Ascalon, who for twenty-four years usurped the throne of Judea, his son Archelaus exercised his tyrannical authority over the Jews for the space of ten years; St. Matthew tells us that Joseph, after his return from Egypt in obedience to the commands of the angel, being afraid of Archelaus, turned aside into Galilee with the child and his mother, and dwelt at Nazareth.³ But Archelaus, on account of his intolerable cruelty, being accused by the Jews before Augustus, was deprived of power and banished for life to Vienne, a town of Gaul, where he died.⁴ In order to weaken the kingdom of Judea, Augustus divided it into tetrarchates for the brothers of Archelaus. Moreover, Pilate, in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, was sent into Judea, to undertake the government of that country; he remained there for ten consecutive years until about the time of the death of the emperor. Herod, Philip, and Lysanias, as St. Luke relates, shared the government of Judea with Pilate; they were the sons of the elder Herod, during whose reign the Lord came into the world.⁵

The whole period of our Lord's teaching on earth was confined within the space of four years. During that time, as Josephus tells us, after Annas was deposed, the following Jewish high priests succeeded each other: Ismaël, son of Baffus; Eleazar, son of the high priest Ananias; Simon, son

¹ Augustus only reigned in reality from the time of the battle of Actium (Sept. 2, A.U.C. 723) until his death (Aug. 19, 767). The general opinion is, that we ought to place the birth of Jesus Christ in 749, and consequently in the 27th year of this reign.

² Tiberius reigned twenty-two years and about seven months (17 Aug. 14—16 March, 37). The death of Jesus Christ happened in the spring of A.D. 33, and consequently in the nineteenth year of this reign.

³ Matt. ii. 22, 23.

⁴ Herod the Great was born at Ascalon in Judea, in the year 71, B.C.; he reigned thirty-seven years after he was raised to the throne by the Senate, and died at the age of sixty-eight. Archelaus reigned from A.U.C. 750 until 759.

⁵ Luke iii. 1.

of Canufus; and Joseph Caiaphas, who prophesied that Jesus "should die for the people."¹ Eusebius of Cæsarea, reckoning from the sixth year of the reign of Darius, who succeeded Cyrus and Cambyses, when the works of the temple were finished, until the period of Herod and Augustus, finds in Daniel seven and forty-two weeks, which make 483 years to the time when Christus, that is to say, Hircanus, the last high priest of the family of the Maccabees, was killed by Herod, and the succession of the high priests, according to the law, ceased. But St. Hippolytus reckons 230 years as the time that the kingdom of the Persians lasted, and 300 years as the duration of that of the Macedonians, and then thirty years until Christ; that is to say, he computes 560 years from the commencement of the reign of Cyrus, king of the Persians, until the advent of our Lord. Enlightened by these researches on the succession of ages, the studious reader will understand that the Sun of Righteousness rose in the sixth age, at the first hour of the century. I shall, therefore, begin my intended work with the history of our Lord, in whose almighty goodness I put my whole confidence, invoking his assistance in faith, that what I have begun I may finish worthily to his praise.

CHAPTER V.

Christ's temptation.

JESUS, being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan into Galilee, and there, on the third day, he and his disciples were called to the marriage in Cana. When they wanted wine, at the request of his mother, he ordered six water-pots to be filled with water, and when he had turned this water into wine, he commanded the

¹ John xviii. 14. "Neither the names nor dates are given correctly. Ismaël, son of Fabi, not of Baffus; Eleazar, son of Annas or Ananus; and Simon, son of Camith, not Canufe, were high priests in the years 23, 24, and 25 of Jesus Christ. Joseph Caiaphas succeeded them in the 25th year; consequently it was during his pontificate only that the gospel was preached."—*Le Prévost*.

servants to bear it to the governor of the feast. By this beginning of miracles Jesus manifested forth his glory to his disciples, and pointed out the alteration in the carnal meaning of the old law, which by the grace of the Holy Spirit he transformed into newness of life.¹

Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, who was astonished at seeing in him the man of incomparable righteousness. He fasted forty days and forty nights, and thus taught us by his example how the just may overcome the whole race of demons by fasting and prayer. The old serpent had overcome the first Adam by his appetite, vain glory, and unlawful desires; he made use of other stratagems to tempt the second Adam, by whom he was repulsed three times; he fled, and, behold, angels came and ministered to the Son of God, who will reward in paradise with eternal felicity the conquerors of Satan.²

Our Lord, with his mother and his brethren, went down to Capernaum, and continued there not many days. From thence, when the time of the Jews' passover was at hand, he went up to Jerusalem, and entered into the temple, where he found those that sold oxen, and sheep, and doves, and the money-changers sitting; all these he drove out, in a wonderful manner.³

At the passover, on the feast-day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did. Then a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, came to Jesus by night, desiring to confer with him secretly. He was therefore worthy of being instructed in the efficacy of baptism, regeneration by water and the Spirit, how Christ was to descend into hell and ascend into heaven, the typical lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the unmerited passion of the Son of man.⁴

After these things, the Lord came into Judea, and there tarried with his disciples, and performed many wonderful miracles of healing. But John was baptizing in Enon, near to Salim, because there was much water there; and

¹ Luke iv. 1; John ii. 1—11.

² Matt. iv. 1—11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1—13.

³ Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; Luke xix. 45; John ii. 12—17.

⁴ John ii. 23; iii. 1—3, 5, 13, 14, 16.

gave a true testimony in answer to the inquiries of his disciples and the Jews concerning Christ. Then Jesus left Judea, and departed again into Galilee, passing through Samaria.¹ In a city of Samaria, which is called Sichar, near to the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, there was a well called Jacob's well. Jesus, therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat on the well, about the sixth hour, and held a mystical conversation with a Samaritan woman. The Samaritans receiving the Saviour with joy, besought him that he would tarry with them, and he abode there two days; and many devout persons believed on him.² From thence Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee; and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about. He taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.³

At Nazareth he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, to read; and, standing up, he unrolled the book of the prophet Isaiah,⁴ and found the place where this prophecy is written: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor." When he had closed the book, he gave it again to the minister, and sat down, saying: "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears;" and all wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. That this assertion was true he proved by many examples, drawn from the Old Testament, saying: "Many widows were in Israel, when great famine was throughout all the land; but unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto a woman of Sarepta; many lepers were left in want and affliction, and none of them was cleansed in Jordan by Eliseus the prophet, saving Naaman the Syrian." All they in the synagogue, when they heard the words of the Lord, were filled with wrath. Confirming the truth he had spoken by a sacrilegious act, they rose up against him, and in their fury thrust out of the city the chief Physician of souls, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city

¹ John iii. 22—36; iv. 3, 4.

² John iv. 5—42.

³ Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14, 28; Luke iv. 14, 15; John iv. 3, 43—45.

⁴ Luke iv. 17.

was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way, and came down to Capernaum.¹

Jesus returned to Cana of Galilee, and a ruler, whose son was sick at Capernaum, besought him as he was coming out of Judæa into Galilee, that he would come down and heal his son. Then said Jesus unto him: "Go thy way; thy son liveth." The sick man immediately recovered; the father believed the word that Jesus had spoken, returned to his home the next day, and there found his son in perfect health, to the great joy of his family; and learning what had happened, himself believed and his whole house. This, as St. John says, is "the second miracle that Jesus did, when he was come out of Judea into Galilee."²

CH. VI. *Christ's preaching in Galilee.*

WHEN Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he left Nazareth, which signifies a *flower*, and dwelt in Capernaum, a name that means a *beautiful city*, and signifies the Church. Now Nazareth, which gave the surname of Nazarene to Christ, is a small town in Galilee, near Mount Tabor. But Capernaum is a strong city in "Galilee of the Gentiles," situate near the lake Gennesareth, "in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali," where the Hebrews were first made captives by the Assyrians.³

From that time, that is to say, after that John was put in prison, Jesus began to preach, because the voice being uttered, the word follows, and the law ceasing the gospel follows, as the sun succeeds the dawn of day. "Repent," said he, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother, and the sons of Zebedee, James and John, and calling them, they straightway left their nets and followed him. Simon means *obedient*—Peter, *grateful*—Andrew, *strong* or *manly*—James, *supplanter*—John, *grace of God*. These interpretations are very well suited to the characters of these holy preachers. For without obedience no one comes to God; without fortitude no one can perse-

¹ Matt. iv. 12—16; Mark i. 21, 22; Luke iv. 16—31; John iv. 44; Isaiah lxi. 1.

² John iv. 46—54.

³ Matt. iv. 12—16; Mark i. 21.

vere; and he who supplants vices ascribes all the good he possesses to the grace of God.¹

Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease, among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria, a country extending from the Euphrates to the great sea, from Cappadocia to Egypt. They brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases, both of the mind and body, and torments, that is to say, acute sufferings, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them.²

Great multitudes therefore followed him from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan. In doing this they were actuated by different motives; some went to Jesus as disciples, on account of his heavenly mission; others, to be cured of their infirmities; others, hearing the favourable reports that were spread abroad, and which excited their curiosity, wished to know by experience if all that was said of him were true; some followed him from envy, wishing "to catch him in his words," and accuse him; others, again, for the sake of obtaining food for the body.³

Jesus, seeing the multitudes, went up into a mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came unto him. He, who in ancient times had given utterance to the prophets, now opened his own lips to preach to them a long discourse, full of all perfection, in which he beautifully and profitably instructed and enlightened the apostles. Thus he who had given the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, now taught his disciples in Galilee, on Mount Thabor, and implanted in their hearts the principles of perfect righteousness. He discoursed fully on the eight beatitudes, and the other commandments of the law, which he came not to "destroy, but to fulfil;" telling them that the precepts of the new law were more strict than those of the Old Testament, as they required men to love even their enemies; that alms

¹ Matt. iv. 17—22; Mark i. 14—20; Luke v. 1—11.

² Matt. iv. 23, 24; Luke iv. 40—44.

³ Matt. iv. 25; Mark iii. 7, 8; Luke vi. 17—19.

were to be given in secret; and he laid down many other rules of a perfect life. This true Teacher of teachers concluded his incomparable discourse, by remarking on the treasure to be laid up in heaven; that no man can serve two masters; on the fowls of the air, and the lilies of the field; the mote and the beam in the eye; on casting your pearls before swine; on our entry into life through the strait gate; that we must beware of false prophets; and that we must build our house upon a rock.¹

When Jesus had ended these words of perfection, the multitudes were astonished at his doctrine; for he taught them like God, who has authority over all things, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees, who were the blind slaves of the law of Moses, and could only teach the little they were capable of understanding.²

When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. And a leper worshipping him, and beseeching him to cure him of his leprosy, the Saviour touched him with his hand, and immediately made him clean, commanding him to go and shew himself to the priests, and to "offer the gifts required by the law." In which command the necessity of confession and penance for sin is implied.³

At Capernaum he approved the faith of the centurion and, at his entreaty, healed, by a word only, his servant who lay at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented. On a sabbath day, while he was teaching in the synagogue, a man possessed with a devil cried out: "What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked him, saying: "Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean spirit had torn him, he came out of him;" and the man was healed, to the great amazement of all those who were present.⁵

And forthwith, when he was come out of the synagogue, he entered into the house of Simon, where he saw Simon's

¹ Matt. v. 1—48; vi. 1—34; vii. 3, 6, 13—15, 24; Luke vi. 20—49.

² Matt. vii. 28, 29; Mark i. 22; Luke iv. 32.

³ Matt. viii. 1—4; Mark i. 40—44; Luke v. 12—14.

⁴ Matt. viii. 5—13; Luke vii. 1—10.

⁵ Mark i. 23—28; Luke iv. 33—36.

wife's mother lying sick of a fever. At the request of her friends, he "took her by the hand, and immediately the fever left her;" and she arose in perfect health, and thankfully ministered to her divine Physician.¹

At even, when the sun was setting, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils, and sick of divers diseases, and the true Physician "laid his hands on every one of them, cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick." By the setting of the sun the death of our Lord was foreshadowed; which happened when the Gentiles were delivered from the power of Satan, through faith, and when those who were sick with the disease of sin were healed by the remedy of a reformed life.²

CH. VII. *Christ at the sea of Galilee.*

WHEN Jesus saw great multitudes about him, late in the evening, he commanded his disciples to go over unto the other side of the lake; and when he was entered into a ship, his disciples followed him. It was but right that, as he had performed miracles upon the land, he should exhibit the same power upon the water, in order to prove himself master both of the earth and the sea. As soon, therefore, as he had got on board, he caused the sea to be greatly agitated, the winds to blow, and the waves to rise. His body was indeed asleep, but his mind remained awake; and when this tempest arose, his disciples awoke him, saying: "Lord, save us; we perish." Then he arose, commanded the winds and the sea to be still, and there was a great calm.³

Thus does the same Emmanuel exert his power every day on the troubled sea of the world, while the vessel of his church is tossed about by the storms of so many different tribulations, and its safety is almost endangered by the extremity of the peril to which it is exposed. But when he is invoked with faith and tears by his true followers, he soon listens to their prayers for succour, and helps them in a marvellous manner, by virtue of his divine nature, presently removing the

¹ Matt. viii. 14, 15; Mark i. 29—31; Luke iv. 38, 39.

² Matt. viii. 16, 17; Mark i. 32—34; Luke iv. 40, 41.

³ Matt. viii. 18, 23—27; Mark iv. 35—39; Luke viii. 22—24.

trials which beset them, and strengthening them with his arm.

When he had crossed the lake to come into the country of the Gergesenes, two men possessed with devils, exceedingly fierce, came out of the tombs, and running up to him, cried out: "What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time? If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine." And he said unto them, "Go." Then the devils immediately entered into the swine, and cast the whole herd into the lake. In this manner a herd of about two thousand swine, driven into the sea by a legion of devils, was drowned; and they that kept them fled, and coming into the city, told everything. The Gergesenes, seeing how the two men had been healed, and their swine cast into the sea, were beyond measure affrighted; and foolishly came forth from their city to beseech the Lord that he would depart out of their coasts.¹

Gerasa is a town in Arabia,² beyond Jordan, close to Mount Gilead; it belonged to the tribe of Manasses, and is at no great distance from the sea of Tiberias, in which the swine were drowned. The name signifies *ejecting the inhabitants*, or, *the stranger approaching*; in allusion to the Gentiles, whom the Son of God came into the world to save, when he had clothed himself with human flesh. The two men whom the legion of devils had possessed, represent two nations, the Jews and the Gentiles, who were governed by the whole "body of sins." They lived in tombs, because they were the servants of dead works, that is to say, of sin. The impotence of Satan is plainly manifested in this circumstance, that he was not even able to injure the swine without the permission of God. It is worthy of notice, that, while those who are predestinated to eternal life turn to the Lord, and, by the use of a sound understanding, save themselves; filthy and proud idol-

¹ Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—17; Luke viii. 26—37. Ordericus calls these people "Geraseni;" Mark and Luke, "Gadarenes;" St. Matthew, "Gergasenes."

² Jerash was in the Decapolis, and formed the eastern boundary of Petræa. Origen calls it a city of Arabia.—*Kitto*. This town must not be confounded with Gadara, the capital of Petræa.

aters, and all reprobate men who cleave to their wickedness, here designated by the word swine, are condemned to live polluted in the stagnant pond of their foul deeds.

Jesus entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into Capernaum. While he was there, so great a multitude came to him to hear his word that they filled the house where he was. Then four men brought to him one afflicted with the palsy; and having uncovered the roof of the house, they let down before Jesus the bed whereon the sick of the palsy lay. Our merciful Lord, perceiving the faith of the bearers, forgave the sins of the paralytic man, and said to him, although the Scribes were murmuring against him: "Arise, take up thy bed, and go thy way unto thine house." And immediately he arose, took up his bed before them all, and returned to his own home.¹

As Jesus passed forth from thence, he called to him a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom; the man followed him, and from the mean station of a publican was raised to the high office of an apostle and an evangelist. As Jesus sat at meat in the house of Levi, the Pharisees murmured, and spoke to him in reproachful terms, because he ate with publicans and sinners; but the benign Teacher, perceiving their evil thoughts, uttered this useful maxim: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."² Our Lord frequented the society of sinners, in order that, by teaching his hosts, he might invite and lead them to the heavenly feast.

When Jesus was talking with the disciples of John, and was rebuked by the Pharisees, because his own disciples did not fast like the followers of John, he drew a suitable comparison from the example of the children of the bridechamber, who could not mourn as long as the bridegroom was with them; from the story of the piece of new cloth, which must not be joined to an old garment; and of the new wine, which must not be put into old

¹ Matt. ix. 1—7; Mark ii. 3—12; Luke v. 18—26.

² Matt. ix. 9—13; Mark ii. 14—17; Luke v. 27—32. "Our author seems to be ignorant of the fact that Matthew and Levi are the same person."—*Le Prévost*.

bottles.¹ He thus proves that the severe observances of the new law are not to be required of carnal men who have not yet been regenerated, until it be plainly manifest that this spiritual renovation has taken place in them, through the mystery of the passion and resurrection of our Lord.

While Jesus was speaking to the multitudes, Jairus, a ruler of the synagogue, came near him, threw himself at his feet, and worshipped him, saying: "Lord, my daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live." The good Physician arose, and immediately followed him. But a great multitude surrounded and pressed upon him, and a woman which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, and had spent all her living upon physicians (by which term are meant the false theologians or philosophers, and the doctors of the secular laws), neither could be healed of any, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment; for she said within herself: "If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole." But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said: "Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole." And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up, and she was made whole. And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, he said: "Give place; for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth." And they laughed him to scorn. But when the people were put forth, he went into the chamber, but suffered no man to go in, save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden; and he took the damsel by the hand, and commanded her to arise, and that something should be given her to eat. And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land.² Jairus, whose name signifies *illuminating*, or *illuminated*, represents Moses and the other doctors of the law; the damsel, about twelve years of age, is the symbol of the synagogue; the woman with the issue of blood is the emblem of the church of the Gentiles, which had before received the faith through Christ, and was graciously saved from the corruptions of idolatry and carnal pleasures. Lastly: as the young maiden is said

¹ Matt. ix. 14—17; Mark ii. 18—22; Luke v. 33—39. *Utres*, "wine-bags."

² Matt. ix. 18—26; Mark v. 21—43; Luke viii. 40—55.

to have come to life again by the command of the Lord, in the same way will Israel at last be saved, when the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.

Jesus departing thence, two blind men followed him, crying: "Thou Son of David, have mercy on us." And when he was come into the house, he touched their eyes, and they again saw the light of heaven.¹

As they went out, behold, they brought to him a dumb man, possessed with a devil. And when the devil was cast out, the dumb spake; and the multitudes marvelled, saying, "It was never so seen in Israel." But the Pharisees said, "He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils."²

The multitudes sought Jesus in the desert place, and when they had found him they wished to stay him, that he should not depart from them.³

As the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, Jesus entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land, into the lake of Genesareth. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship. Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, who had toiled all the night in vain: "Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught." And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes, and their net brake with the weight.⁴

In those days he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples; and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named Apostles, that is to say, "sent." Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew; James, the son of Alpheus, and Thaddeus; Simon, the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.⁵

The sacred number of the apostles is not free from mystery; for the number twelve designates those who were to preach faith in the Holy Trinity throughout the four

¹ Matt. ix. 27—31.

² Matt. ix. 32—34.

³ Mark i. 35—37; Luke iv. 42.

⁴ Luke v. 1—6.

⁵ Matt. x. 1—4; Mark iii. 13—19; Luke vi. 12—16.

quarters of the world. The quaternary number tripled makes the number twelve, which figure was often used before for many purposes. The apostles are represented by the twelve sons of Jacob, the twelve princes of the people of Israel, the twelve springs found in Elim, the twelve jewels of the priest's vestment, the twelve loaves of shew-bread, the twelve spies sent by Moses, the twelve stones of the altar, the twelve stones taken out of the river Jordan, the twelve oxen that supported the brazen sea, the twelve stars in the crown of the bride, and the twelve foundations and twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem, described in the book of Revelation. They were prefigured by many other signs excellently adapted to make known to the nations the mysteries of God.

CH. VIII. *The widow's son raised.*

THE glorious Emmanuel went about all Galilee, preaching the gospel in all the villages, towns, and cities, that is to say, both to small and great, without respect of persons. He did not regard the power of the nobles, but the salvation of believers; and, after his teaching, sweet as honey, he healed every sickness and every disease, that those whom his discourses could not persuade, might be convinced by the greatness of his works. But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and lay down, as sheep having no shepherd. He therefore called unto him his twelve disciples, and gave them power to cast out unclean spirits, and to heal all manner of sickness; and he said to them, "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; nor scrip for your journey; neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."¹ Their heavenly Master gave them many more profitable admonitions, which his faithful historians, Matthew and Luke, have handed down to us in their writings.

Jesus went into a city of Galilee, called Nain, which is situate not far from Endor, about two miles south of

¹ Matt. ix. 35, 36; x. 1, 7—10; Mark vi. 6—9.

Mount Thabor. Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, surrounded by a great multitude, they were carrying out the corpse of a young man, who was the only son of a widow; and when the Lord saw her weeping, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, "Weep not." And he came and touched the bier, and they that bare him stood still, and he said to the dead man, "Young man, I say unto thee, Arise!" And he immediately revived, and sitting up began to speak; and the Giver of life delivered him to his mother in perfect health. And there came a fear on all who witnessed this miracle,¹ it being the will of God that a great multitude should follow the Lord; and much people accompany the widow, in order that, there being many witnesses of this great miracle, many might be found to give praise to God.

Now when John had heard, in Herod's prison, the works of Christ, he sent from thence two of his disciples, that they might diligently inquire of the wisdom of God, what were the secrets of the divine will. And when the messengers of John were departed, Jesus began to say many things concerning the greatness of John, and likened the generation of the Jews to children sitting in the market-place. Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not on hearing him preach. Hitherto he had reproved the whole Jewish race in common, but now he reprimanded each of their cities by name, especially Chorazin, that is to say, *my mystery*; Bethsaida, that is to say, *the house of fruits*; and Capharnaum, because they would not be converted when they saw these signs and mighty works.²

After this Jesus returned thanks to God his Father, because he had hid his secrets from the wise men of this world, but had revealed them unto babes.³

When the Pharisees reproved his disciples, because, as they went on the sabbath day through the corn-fields, they plucked the ears of corn and did eat, rubbing them in their hands; our Saviour excused them, inasmuch as they had followed the example set by David and Abiathar

¹ Luke vii. 11—16.

² Matt. xi. 2—24; Luke vii. 18—32; x. 13—15.

³ Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.

the high priest, saying: "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath. Therefore, the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath."¹

On another sabbath he entered into the synagogue, and healed a man whose right hand was withered. But the Pharisees, moved with envy at the glory Jesus had gained by his many miracles, went out straightway and took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him. Wherefore Jesus withdrew himself thence, and great multitudes followed him, and he healed them all. Then was brought unto him one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch that he both spake and saw. But when the Scribes and Pharisees wished to depreciate the works of Christ, by a false interpretation, desiring him to show them a sign from heaven, he spoke to them words of profound wisdom and spiritual comfort, by which he reproved the wicked and taught the good. He told them that to an evil generation no sign should be given, but the sign of the prophet Jonas, and he set before them, in comparison with themselves, the queen of the south, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and the Ninevites who repented.²

When his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him, he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said: "Whoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."³

The same day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-side, and great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a ship, and sat, and spake many things in parables unto the multitude that stood on the shore. From the husbandman, who went forth to sow, he took occasion to show the similarity of his own labours; and of the seed itself, part perished, because some fell by the way side, and it was trodden down and the fowls of the air devoured it; some fell upon stony places, and some

¹ Matt. xii. 1—8; Mark ii. 23—28; Luke vi. 1—5.

² Matt. xii. 9—42; Mark iii. 1—10; Luke vi. 6—11; xi. 14—32.

³ Matt. xii. 46—50; Mark iii. 31—35; Luke viii. 19—21.

among thorns, and was choked by divers accidents; but other fell on good ground, and yielded much fruit. What these things mean, I shall explain in a few sentences: The seed is the word of God; the sower is Christ; the birds are the demons; the way is a depraved mind, worn and dried up by the continual circulation of evil thoughts; the rock represents the hardness of a reprobate soul; the good ground represents the gentleness of an obedient spirit, but the sun the heat of a cruel persecution; the thorns are the hearts of those who are tormented by the desire to become rich; the good ground is a devout and faithful soul which brings forth fruit, some an hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold.¹ He who, in all his actions, has eternity constantly in view, bears fruit an hundred-fold; he that bears fruit sixty-fold performs works perfected by sound doctrine, signified by the numbers six and ten; the fruit increased thirty-fold typifies faith with sound doctrine, by the numbers three and ten. Or in other words: the fruit multiplied a hundred-fold, recalls to our mind the virgins and martyrs, either in their sanctity of life or contempt of death;² the fruit multiplied sixty times is that of widows, on account of the internal calm which they enjoy, because they have not to struggle against the desires of the flesh. It is the custom to allow persons of sixty years of age to repose after their warfare. But the fruit multiplied thirty-fold is that of married people; because this is the age fit for contending with the world.

After this, the true Prophet, seeing the multitudes that were gathered together unto him, spake other parables unto them, of the good seed that was sown and the tares, of the grain of mustard seed, and of the leaven which the woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. Our Saviour, sitting in the boat, is like a rich master of a house, who refreshes his guests with different

¹ Matt. xiii. 1—23; Mark iv. 1, 20; Luke viii. 4—15.

² This passage is extracted from St. Augustine, Quæst. Evang. lib. i. quæst. 9; but the word *societatem* here introduced into the text of Ordericus Vitalis is a corruption for either *sanctitatem* or *satiетatem*, both of which are found in MSS. of St. Augustine. The former of these readings is here adopted.

kinds of food, that each of them may take those which his stomach requires. So our Lord makes use of different parables, that he may suit the diverse tastes of his hearers.¹

Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house; and when his disciples questioned him on the subject, he expounded to them the parable of the tares. He also, at the same time, added and explained to them the figurative meaning of the parables of the treasure hid in a field; of the merchantman and the pearl; and of the nets cast into the sea. From thence he came into his own country, and taught them in their synagogues, insomuch that all were astonished.²

CH. IX. *Mary Magdalene—St. John beheaded—Miracle of the loaves and fishes.*

WHEN our Saviour, invited by a Pharisee, was eating in his house, a woman, which was a sinner, began to wash his feet with her tears, as he sat at the table, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with ointment. All the things that she had unlawfully made use of when leading a life of sin, she now in her repentant state sacrificed entirely to God; all the seductions she possessed in herself, she now converted into offerings to heaven. The Pharisee, swelling with false righteousness, rebuked the sick woman for her infirmity, and the Physician for affording her relief. Hence arose the parable of the two debtors; and the man was convicted by his own admission, like the madman who carries the cord with which he is to be bound. The Judge, to whose eyes the most secret things are naked and open, noted the deserts of the penitent sinner, and rebuked the wickedness of the unjust Pharisee. He then forgave the sins of Mary, because, as he himself testified, she loved much; saying to her: "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace."³

While the Lord and his disciples were thus preaching, certain women, that is to say, Mary, called Magdalene, Joanna, the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna, with many others, inspired by God, followed him and minis-

¹ Matt. xiii. 24, 35; Mark iv. 26—33; Luke xiii. 18—21.

² Matt. xiii. 36—58; Mark iv. 34; vi. 1—6.

³ Luke vii. 36—50; Hebrews iv. 13.

tered unto him of their substance. It was a custom among the Jews, and was not considered wrong, for women, according to this national institution, to furnish their teachers with food and raiment. This custom, St. Paul tells us, he rejected, because he feared it might be an occasion of scandal to the Gentiles. Susanna signifies, *a lily*; Joanna, *the gracious*, or *merciful*, *Lord*; Mary, *the bitter sea*; Magdalene, *a tower*. From the signification of these names, it may be clearly perceived what privileges are conferred upon the hand-maids of the Lord for their meritorious services.¹

After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. He there healed, at the sheep-pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, a certain man, which had an infirmity thirty and eight years. In the water of this pool the priests washed the flesh of the victims which they offered in sacrifice to God, according to the law. This pool had five porches, in which lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel of the Lord went down (at a certain season) into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then first, after the troubling of the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had. At Christ's command, the man was immediately made whole, and took up his bed; and on the same day was the sabbath. The Jews, therefore, beginning to murmur and blaspheme, Jesus, the wisdom of the Father, answering them, as St. John, the divine, relates, manifested the mysteries of his divinity in various ways, and bore a remarkable testimony to his shining light John, and to Moses.²

At that time Herod, the tetrarch, heard of the fame of Jesus, and said unto his servants: "This is John the Baptist; he is risen from the dead, and therefore mighty works do shew forth themselves in him!" For Herod had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for the sake of Herodias, whom he had taken from his brother Philip, and had married, in spite of the remonstrances of John. This cunning and adulterous king would have put to death the herald of truth, but he feared the multitude, because they treated the prophet of God with great veneration. Herod was also afraid of John, because he knew him

¹ Matt. xxvii. 55; Mark xv. 40, 41; Luke viii. 1—3.

² John v. 1—47.

to be a just and holy man; but he was overcome by his passion for the woman, and God's righteous judgment so ordered it that the desire of the adulteress made him shed the blood of the holy prophet. Herod on his birth-day made a supper to his lords, high captains, and chief estates of Galilee; and when the daughter of Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and them that sat with him, the king promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she would ask of him. She, being before instructed by her perfidious mother, requested that he would give her in a charger the head of John the Baptist. The cruel king sent an executioner, and commanded him to cut off the head of the messenger of Christ, which was brought in a charger to the young woman, who was to be thus rewarded for her talent in dancing, and the viands were thus polluted with blood at this impure festival. But the disciples of John buried his body in Samaria, and coming to Jesus, told him all that had happened. Our Saviour, when he heard of the execution of John the Baptist, his servant, departed, and crossing the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias, retired into a desert place apart; not because he dreaded death, but because he wished to spare his enemies the crime of adding another murder to the one already committed, should the sight of his many miracles rouse their deadly zeal.¹ He, therefore, chose to put off the day of his death until the time of the passover, and thus afford us an example of evading the sudden attacks of traitors.

When the people heard of his departure, they followed him on foot; and Jesus, seeing a great multitude, was moved with compassion toward them, and he healed their sick. And when it was evening, he took five barley-loaves and two fishes, and, looking up to heaven, he blessed, and brake, and gave them to his disciples to set before the multitude, whom he had previously commanded to sit down on the green grass. The apostles ministered to the wants of five thousand men, beside women and children, who did all eat and were filled; and they took up of the fragments that remained twelve baskets full.² All these things are full of mysteries. Jesus leaves Judea, and comes into the desert

¹ Matt. xiv. 1—13; Mark vi. 14—32; Luke iii. 19, 20; ix. 7—10.

² Matt. xiv. 13—21; Mark vi. 33—44; Luke ix. 11—17; John vi. 1—13.

of the Gentiles; the people follow him; moved with compassion, he heals their sick; he feeds them with the five barley-loaves of the Mosaic law, and with the two fishes, which are the figure of the prophets and of the psalms. He performed this miracle in the evening, signifying the close of time, when the Sun of righteousness set for us.

Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said: "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world." When Jesus, therefore, perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him unto the other side of the sea; and when he had sent the multitudes away, he went up into a mountain apart to pray. When the evening was come, the ship was in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves, and they toiled nearly the whole night in rowing, for the wind was contrary. In the fourth watch of the night, when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, he cometh unto them walking upon the sea; and when they saw him, they were troubled, because they supposed it had been a spirit, and they cried out for fear; but straightway Jesus spake unto them, saying: "It is I; be not afraid." "Lord," said Peter, "if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water." And he said, "Come." And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and, beginning to sink, he cried, saying, "Lord, save me." And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, because he called to him in the hour of danger, and said unto him: "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" And when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased; and those, who saw this worshipped him, and confessed that he was the Son of God.¹

It is necessary to remark that St. John describes the miracle of the loaves as having taken place near the time of the passover; but St. Matthew and St. Mark relate that it happened immediately after the beheading of St. John the Baptist; from which we may conclude that St. John was beheaded shortly before Easter, and that, in the year follow-

¹ Matt. xiv. 22—33; Mark vi. 45—51; John vi. 14—21.

ing, when the time of the passover was again at hand the mystery of the passion of our Lord was accomplished. Jesus with his disciples came into the land of Genesareth, where he was received with joy by the men of that place, and he healed their sick. For the merciful kindness of their Saviour drew them to him; and they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased, and besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment; and as many as touched were made perfectly whole.¹

In the same place he had many disputes with the scribes and Pharisees, which came from Jerusalem, and refuted the superstitious traditions of the elders.²

The multitudes took shipping, and came to Capernaum, seeking for Jesus; and he said to them: "Verily, verily, I say unto you: Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you; for him hath God the Father sealed." These, and many other like things about the bread from heaven and eternal life, said he in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum; but the Jews, whose heart was of stone, did not understand them. They therefore said: "This is an hard saying." Many of his disciples, blinded by malice, began to murmur against him, and were so offended at his words that they went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve: "Will ye also go away?" Simon Peter answered him: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure that thou art Christ, the Son of God."³

After these things Jesus walked in Galilee; for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him. Then, as the historian St. John relates, his relations, who, in compliance with the Jewish custom, were called "his brethren," invited him to go with them to the feast of tabernacles, that he might show himself openly to the

¹ Matt. xiv. 34—36; Mark vi. 53—56.

² Matt. xv. 1—9; Mark vii. 1—13.

³ John vi. 22—69.

world. And when they, who sought for worldly glory, set out on their journey, he abode still in Galilee. Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up, and taught in the temple, and all the Jews marvelled at his doctrine. The Pharisees heard that the people differed in opinion respecting him, and sent officers to take him; but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come.¹ In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified. Many of the people, when they heard this saying, said: "Of a truth this is the Prophet." Others said: "This is the Christ." But some said; "Shall Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?" So there was a division among the people because of him. But the officers, who had been sent by the chief priests and Pharisees to take Jesus, when they heard his sayings, forgot the purpose for which they were sent, and returned without any accusation against him, but full of admiration. When, therefore, the cruel magistrates harshly demanded of their officers why they had not brought the Teacher of life bound before them, they, taught by divine inspiration, bore true testimony concerning the doctrine of Christ; for their answer to those who sent them was: "Never man spake like this man." And we must not be astonished at this, when we consider that he who spoke to them was both God and man. But as these proud rulers of the people endeavoured wickedly to suppress the truth, Nicodemus put a stop to their criminal efforts by the authority of the law; so that, their designs being frustrated, they returned home, void of faith, and without deriving any benefit from this conference.²

From thence Jesus went unto the Mount of Olives; and early in the morning he came again into the temple, where he sat down, and taught all the people that came

¹ John vii. 1—30.

² John vii. 37—53.

unto him. And they brought unto him a woman taken in adultery, who, though condemned by strict justice, was absolved by the sweetness of his mercy. Pharisaic craft had reckoned on ensnaring Christ, and lowering him in the eyes of the people, by exhibiting him as either harsh, or disregarding the law. For if he had condemned the accused woman, in obedience to the law of Moses, they would have charged him with cruelty, and taunted him with forgetting to show that mercy which he was continually preaching; and would thus have rendered him odious to the people by whom he was beloved. If, on the contrary, he had forbidden them to stone the adulteress, from a love of clemency, they would have accused him of being an enemy to the law and of encouraging crime. But he, the true Wisdom, broke the snares of these wicked men like the threads of a spider's web, in virtue of his supreme authority. He said unto them: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." In the first part of the sentence, we discover the feeling of a compassionate observer; in the second, the sentence of a just judge. Stooping down, he wrote on the ground with his finger, and his word, as a two-edged sword, pierced the conscience of these insidious men: thus he completely satisfied the severity of justice and the gentleness of mercy. At last these crafty questioners, struck with shame at the equity of the sentence pronounced, left the adulterous woman, and, beginning at the eldest, went out one by one. Then the Supreme Judge kindly lifted up the accused woman, thus left alone with him: "Go," he said unto her, "and sin no more." See how his mercy pardons past sins, while his justice forbids the presumption of sinning any more.¹

In the treasury, Jesus spake unto them of his being the true light of the world, expatiated on the nature of liberty, on his own exaltation, on the servitude of sin, and on falsehood and truth. The enraged Jews, in answer to the blessed words of Christ, replied: "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil." Notwithstanding, however, their injurious language, he replied with patience, instructed them with humility, and taught the knowledge of divine things to those who were to be saved. But they, becoming infuriated,

¹ John viii. 1—11.

collected stones to cast at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple.¹

CH. X. *The pool of Siloam—The transfiguration.*

As he passed by, seeing a man which was blind from his birth, he spat on the ground, and making clay of the spittle, anointed the eyes of the blind man, and said unto him: "Go, wash in the pool of Siloam." He went his way, therefore, and washed, and came seeing. This was done on a sabbath-day; and in consequence, a great division arose among the Jews. The man whose eyes were opened was cast out of the synagogue, because he bare witness to him from whom he had received his sight; but was afterwards recognized and received by him whom he loved with so much reason. Then Jesus related to them the parable of the door of the sheepfold, of the shepherd and his flock, and of the good pastor and the hireling. Many of the Jews received his words; but a great number, on the contrary, lightly rejected them.²

Then Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; where a woman of Canaan earnestly entreated him that he would heal her daughter, who was grievously vexed with a devil. His disciples besought him [to send her away]; but, after some hesitation, he granted her prayer, and having commended the faith and humility of the mother, freed the daughter from the power of the demon.³

And departing from the coasts of Tyre, the chief city of the Canaanites, he came by Sidon, a town of Phœnicia, unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis. He there took aside from the multitude one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his speech, and, putting his fingers into his ears, he spat, and touched his tongue, and looking up to heaven, he sighed, and said unto him: "Ephphatha," that is, Be opened. And straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain. And those who were witnesses of this miracle were astonished, saying: "He hath done all things

¹ John viii. 12—59.

² John ix.; x. 1—21.

³ Matt. xv. 21—28; Mark vii. 24—30.

well; he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak."¹

Jesus came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and taught the great multitudes that came unto him. And they cast at Jesus' feet those that were dumb, lame, blind, maimed, and many others, and he healed them; insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb speak, the lame walk, and the blind see.² In the same manner the Lord works spiritually in his holy church, and by his grace a multitude of sinners are saved every day. The dumb are those who refuse to sing praises to the Lord, and who do not confess a belief in him. The blind are those who do not understand, although they obey. The deaf are those who will not obey, even though they understand. The lame are those who neglect to fulfil the divine precepts, and walk through the devious paths of wickedness. Such are the men who are healed every day by the grace of God, and are guided into the way that leads to life eternal. Those who feared the Lord, and were eye-witnesses of these corporeal signs, magnified the King of sabaoth with joy. Now also the faithful rejoice in the conversion of sinners, and devoutly glorify the Lord God of Israel, who doeth all good things.

Then Jesus called his disciples unto him, and said: "I have compassion on the multitude, because they continue with me now three days, and have nothing to eat; and I will not send them away fasting, lest they faint in the way." He then commanded the multitude to sit down on the ground, and taking seven loaves and a few little fishes, gave thanks, brake them, and gave to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude. And they did all eat, and were filled; and they took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets full. And they that did eat were four thousand men, beside women and children. And he sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of Magdala or Dalmanutha, in the neighbourhood of Gennesareth. Here the Sadducees and the Pharisees, tempting him, desired that he would shew them a sign from heaven, for they made light of the great miracle he had performed in feeding four thousand men with seven loaves, and filling

¹ Mark vii. 31—37.

² Matt. xv. 29—31.

seven baskets with the fragments that remained. But he reproved their insolence; and refusing to give them any other sign than that of the prophet Jonas, left them, and entering into the ship again, departed to the other side.¹

At Bethsaida, they besought him to touch a blind man. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw aught. And he said: "I see men as trees walking." Jesus put his hands again upon his eyes, and he was restored, and began to see every thing clearly. Our Lord then said to him: "Go unto thine house; and if thou enter the town, thou shalt not tell it to any one."²

And Jesus went out, and came into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi; and by the way he asked his disciples what men thought concerning him? And they answered: "Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets." He saith unto them: "But whom say ye that I am?" And Simon Peter answered and said: "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." And Jesus answered and said unto him: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." He then charged his disciples that they should tell no man that he was Jesus the Christ. From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day. Then Peter, taking him aside, from excessive love began to rebuke him, saying: "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." But he turned, and said unto

¹ Matt. xv. 32—39; xvi. 1—4; Mark viii. 1—13.

² Mark viii. 22—26. We read in St. Mark: "And he sent him away to his house, saying, 'Neither go into the town, nor tell it to any in the town.'"

Peter: "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." After the Lord had shown to his disciples the mystery of his passion and resurrection, he exhorted them, as well as the people, to follow the example of his passion, and promised them the reward provided for those who suffer.¹

After six days, Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and leadeth them up into an high mountain apart by themselves; and he was transfigured before them. And his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment became as white as snow. And there appeared unto them Moses and Elias, talking with him; and, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them; and, behold, a voice out of the cloud, which said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid. And Jesus came and touched them, and said: "Arise, and be not afraid." And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only. And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: "Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead." Then, in answer to their inquiry, he told them that Elias was come already; and they understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.²

On the next day, when he was come to the multitude, straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and, running to him, saluted him. Then a certain man of the company came to him, and threw himself down on his knees, saying: "Lord, have mercy on my son, for he is lunatic from his infancy, and sore vexed; for oftentimes the devil hath cast him into the fire, and into the waters, to destroy him; and I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him." And when Jesus had commanded the sick child to be brought, while he was yet coming, the evil spirit threw him down and tare him; and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming. Jesus rebuked the foul spirit, and charged him to come out of him, and to enter no more into him. And the spirit cried, and rent

¹ Matt. xvi. 13—28; Mark viii. 27—38; Luke ix. 18—27.

² Matt. xvii. 1—13; Mark ix. 2—13; Luke ix. 28—36.

him sore, and came out of him, and he fell on the ground as one dead, insomuch that many said that he was dead. But Jesus, took him by the hand, lifted him up, and delivered him whole to his father. Afterwards, when the disciples asked him privately why they could not heal him, he said unto them: "Because of your unbelief; for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."¹

And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them: "The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and the third day he shall rise again." And they were exceeding sorry.²

CH. XI. *The tribute money—The labourers in the vineyard.*

AND when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said: "Doth not your Master pay tribute?" He saith, "Yes." And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying: "Of whom do the kings of the earth take tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?" Peter saith unto him: "Of strangers." Christ was the Son of a King, both according to the flesh and the Spirit, whether we consider him as born of the seed of David, or as the Word of the Almighty Father. Therefore, as the son of a king, he was not obliged to pay tribute money; but he who had taken upon him the humility of the flesh wished to fulfil all righteousness. In every kingdom, it is clear, children are free from taxation: Jesus saith unto Peter: "Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and thee."³ This fish is the figure of Christ; the sea represents mortal life; the tribute money, or the two drachms, means confession, which is given for Peter as for a

¹ Matt. xvii. 14—21; Mark ix. 14—29; Luke ix. 37—42.

² Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 30—32.

³ Matt. xvii. 24—27.

sinner, but for Christ as for a Lamb without spot and guiltless.

Then there arose a reasoning among the apostles, which of them should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And Jesus called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them, and said: "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven;" adding other precepts, concerning humility and gentleness, avoiding to offend little children, and correcting a brother mildly. He then spoke to them of paternal kindness, and set before them the parable of the king who forgave his servant the debt of ten thousand talents, when he besought him, and of that same servant who refused to acquit a fellow servant who owed him an hundred pence. The discourse, after payment of the tribute, in commendation of humility and innocence, and teaching us how to correct and pardon, being ended, the righteous Teacher departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan; and great multitudes followed him; and he healed them there.¹

When the Pharisees asked him if it were lawful for a man to put away his wife, he referred to the fixed law of marriage, saying: "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."²

Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should put his hands on them, and pray: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But Jesus was much displeased, and said unto them: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven."³

A young man asked him, kneeling, the way to eternal salvation; when, after instructing him in the commandments of the law, he added: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." But when he heard that saying, he went away

¹ Matt. xviii. 1—35; xix. 1, 2; Mark ix. 33—49; Luke ix. 46—48.

² Matt. xix. 3—6; Mark x. 2—9.

³ Matt. xix. 13, 14; Mark x. 13, 14; Luke xviii. 15, 16.

sorrowful, for he had great possessions. Then said Jesus: "Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." Peter, hearing what was said in praise of voluntary poverty, self-complacently said to the Lord: "Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?" And Jesus said unto them: "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first."¹

He then set before them the parable of the householder, who took labourers into his vineyard at different hours of the day, but gave to all of them the same hire, one penny, beginning from the last unto the first.² These different hours of the day are understood to represent typically the past ages. Abel laboured at day-break, Noe at the third hour, Abraham at the sixth, and the lawgiver Moses at the ninth. At the "eleventh hour" Christ came, rebuked the Gentiles, because they stood idle in the great market-place of this world, and commanded them to work by faith in the vineyard of his church. Or, these different hours may also be likened to the several stages of a man's life. The morning represents childhood; the third hour of the day, youth; the sixth hour is emblematical of manhood; the ninth, of old age; the eleventh, of decrepitude, or superannuation. At all these ages conversions take place; and the converts are rewarded with the penny of everlasting life. A modern poet thus speaks of this similitude:—

When the sun sinks in the west,
And the vineyard-labourers claim
Wages due and grateful rest,
Their reward is all the same;

¹ Matt. xix. 16—30; Mark x. 17—31; Luke xviii. 18—30.

² Matt. xx. 1—8.

Whether through the noontide heat
Bending o'er the thirsty soil;
Whether theirs, with lingering feet,
Cooler hours and lighter toil.
Tasks unequal—equal hire—
Such the master's righteous will;
All that justice can require,
Thus both first and last fulfil.
In the vineyard of the Lord,
Young and old, and weak and wise,
Taught by His most holy word,
Surely gain the glorious prize.

CH. XII. *Third year of Christ's ministry—In Judea—
After leaving Galilee.*

THUS far I have attentively examined, for a salutary exercise, as I have been able to gather from the writings of the evangelists, and endeavoured to relate briefly, the works which our Lord performed during the first two years of his mission. It is now my duty to search out the acts of his third year, and briefly to recount the important and memorable deeds of our Lord after his departure from Galilee into Judea, that he might accomplish in Jerusalem the mystery of his Father's dispensation, and reveal to us by his own ineffable operation the hidden things of the law and the prophets. He, indeed, at first taught in the eastern parts of Judea, beyond Jordan; but afterwards on this side of it, when he went to Jericho and Jerusalem. For although the whole kingdom of the Jews was generally called Judea, to distinguish it from other countries, yet the southern part was more especially named Judea, as distinct from Samaria, Galilee, Decapolis, and the other districts of the same province.

Jesus, on his way to Jerusalem, privately foretold his passion to his disciples. Then the mother of Zebedee's children desired him to grant that her two sons might sit, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, in his kingdom. But he taught them to be patient and lowly, and he himself set an example of perfect righteousness for them to follow. In answer to John's inquiry, he commanded him not to forbid any one to perform miracles in his name.¹

¹ Matt. xx. 17—28; Mark x. 32—45; Luke ix. 49, 50.

As he was drawing nigh unto Jerusalem, he sent messengers before his face into a village of the Samaritans; but they did not receive them. However, when James and John wished him to command fire to come down from heaven upon the heads of the men who had treated him with scorn, he rebuked his disciples, saying: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."¹

After these things the Lord appointed seventy-two disciples, and sent them, two and two, into every city and place whither he himself would come, and gave them directions to whom and how they were to preach. He then upbraided the cities that would not believe in his name. And when the seventy-two disciples returned again with joy to him, the Lord charged them not to rejoice in this, that the spirits were subject unto them, but because their names were written in heaven; he referred all praise to his Father, and called the eyes of the disciples blessed, because they saw those things which many just men and kings before them had desired to see, but had not seen.²

When a lawyer asked him a question, tempting him, he showed him what to do in order to inherit eternal life, and mentioned the case of the man who "went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves," proving to them all that the Samaritan, who, when the priest and the Levite passed by on the other side, went to the assistance of the man who had been wounded by the thieves, was his neighbour, because he had compassion on him.³

In a certain village, a woman named Martha received Jesus into her house, and when she complained to him that her sister had left her to serve alone, and would not help her, he put a stop to her murmurs by asserting that Mary had "chosen the good part."⁴

St. Matthew, in the Lord's prayer, gives the seven

¹ Luke ix. 51—56.

² Luke x. 1—24; we here read, "other seventy also."

³ Matt. xxii. 34—40; Mark xii. 28—34; Luke x. 25—37.

⁴ Luke x. 38—42.

petitions in the following words:—*Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.* In the first three petitions we pray for things eternal, but in the last four for things temporal, which are, however, necessary in order to acquire those that are eternal.

Now St. Luke has but five requests, thus:—*Our Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us day by day our daily bread; and forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation.* Thus we see seven petitions, according to St. Matthew, reduced to five in St. Luke's gospel: for instance, the name of God is sanctified in the Spirit; but the kingdom of God is to come in the resurrection of the flesh. He then adds three others, for the daily bread, for the remission of sins, and for avoiding temptation. All that man requires in this life and the next may be understood to be embraced by these petitions.¹ For this reason, when the disciples said to Jesus, "Lord, teach us to pray," he not only gave them a form of prayer, but taught them to pray frequently and with importunity. He admonished them to persevere constantly in their petitions to Heaven, and related to them the parable of the friend who requested the loan of three loaves at midnight. He advised them to "ask, seek, and knock;" he, therefore, exhorted them to ask for the bread of the word of God, by which the friend, that is to say, the soul, is nourished; to seek for the friend who gives abundantly, that is to say, the Lord; to knock at the door of divine mercy, through which they enter the treasury of wisdom, where the celestial joys are kept. The word bread is understood to signify charity, with which the stone, that is to say, the hardness of avarice, is contrasted. The fish represents the faith of invisible baptism, on account of the water used, or because it is caught in invisible places, and is imperishable by the waves of this world that roar around it; with this the venomous serpent is contrasted; this last is the figure of perfidy or incredulity. The egg is the em-

¹ Matt. vi. 9—13; Luke xi. 1—13.

blem of hope ; because the egg is not yet a perfect foetus, but we hope to see it become one by being hatched. Now despair is the reverse of hope ; it has for its image the scorpion, which strikes the unwary with its envenomed sting from behind, and the secret puncture causes sudden death.

Our Saviour accused the Pharisees of blasphemy and ingratitude for the acts of mercy which they witnessed. He took the illustration of the armed man who was overcome by a man stronger than himself, and spoke of the unclean spirit that returned into the man, with seven other spirits more wicked than himself.¹ When a certain woman lifted up her voice, and said, that the womb that bare him was blessed, he answered that he who kept the word of God was blessed.² When he had healed the man on whom three miracles were performed at the same time (being blind he saw, dumb he spoke, possessed with a devil was freed), he, who was the truth itself, gave them many precepts conducive to salvation, repelled with the weapons of reason the Pharisees who tempted him, told them that a lighted candle was not to be put under a bushel, but on a candlestick ; and taught them that the eye ought to be single.³

When the Pharisee, who had besought him to dine with him, marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner, after the manner of the Jews, Jesus observed that external ablutions did not purify their inward parts, which were foul with sins, and repeating, "Woe to the Pharisees," six times, added a long list of their evil deeds.⁴

He also charged his disciples to take heed of the leaven of hypocrisy, not to be afraid of them that can only kill the body ; and, in the hour of persecution, to take no thought what they should say.⁵

When one of the company requested him to divide the inheritance between him and his brother, he related the parable of the rich miser. He then warned his disciples to

¹ Matt. xii. 31—45 ; Mark iii. 22—30 ; Luke xi. 15—26.

² Luke xi. 27, 28.

³ Matt. xii. 22—30 ; Mark iii. 22—30 ; Luke xi. 14, 29—36.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 13—38 ; Luke xi. 37—52.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 6—12 ; Mark viii. 15 ; Luke xii. 1—12.

avoid, like the fowls of the air, being careful for meat and raiment.¹ Having promised the kingdom to the little flock, he commanded them to sell all that they possessed, and all they acquired, and to give alms; telling them that their loins ought to be girded about, and their lamps burning. He also commanded them to watch, mentioning the case of the two servants, the one good, the other bad; and declared that the servant, which knew his lord's will, but did it not, should be beaten with many stripes, while he that knew not should be beaten with few stripes.²

He told them that he was come to send fire on the earth, by reason of their divisions; that, as they could discern the face of the sky, they ought to discern the signs of the times; and recommended them to consent to the demands of their adversary, while they were in the way.³

When he was told that Pilate had put to death some of the Galileans, Jesus, answering, said, that all should likewise perish, unless they repented; or be like the eighteen who were crushed by the fall of the tower in Siloam. In the parable of the barren fig-tree, he warns those who defer the hour of repentance.⁴

He made straight on the sabbath-day a woman who had been bowed together eighteen years; and when some of them murmured, because Jesus had healed on that day, he silenced them by saying that an ox must be led away to watering on the sabbath; and all the people rejoiced for the glorious things that were done by him.⁵

Comparing the kingdom of God to a grain of mustard seed and to leaven, he spoke of the few that enter in at the strait gate, and said: "There are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last."⁶ The Lord then called Herod a "fox," a name by which heretics are designated, on account of the deceitful and insidious character of their conduct; and reproved Jerusalem because it refused to seek the protection of his wings.⁷ He healed, on the sabbath-day, a certain man which had the

¹ Matt. vi. 25—34; Luke xii. 13—31.

² Luke xii. 32—48.

³ Luke xii. 49—59.

⁴ Luke xiii. 1—9.

⁵ Luke xiii. 10—17.

⁶ Matt. xiii. 31—33; Mark iv. 30, 31; Luke xiii. 18—30.

⁷ Luke xiii. 31—35.

dropsy, ridding him as it were of a fountain of humours; and when the Pharisees objected, he confounded them by asking if they did not [on the sabbath-day] pull an ass or an ox out of a pit into which it had fallen. He taught them to practise humility, not seeking the first places at a feast; and to bid to their table, not the rich, but the poor, who could not return their hospitality.¹

CH. XIII. *Parables and discourses of Christ.*

THE Lord Jesus Christ, employing various means to further the salvation of man, gives us the parable of those that were bidden to a supper; but, as they all sought to be excused, they were not considered worthy of such an honour. The first refused the invitation, because he had bought a piece of ground; representing those who through love of worldly things, make no account of heavenly things. Another, who was prevented by his five yoke of oxen, is the type of those curious persons, who, influenced by the bodily senses, scrutinize external things only, and, while they remark the life of others, and neglect the care of their own souls, refuse to take their place at the banquet of eternal salvation. The third, who refused to be present on account of his recent marriage, is the image of all persons who allow themselves to be caught in the meshes of carnal pleasure. Thus, while one man is occupied with the cares of this world, another is tormented by incessantly thinking of the actions of his neighbours, a third allows his mind to be defiled by the pleasures of the flesh; but all equally disdain to hasten to the banquet of eternal life.²

Our Saviour told the great multitudes that went with him, that they must not only give up all their connections, but their own life, and take up the cross and follow him. That they might not fail, he suggested that they ought to act like the man who, "intending to build a tower, sitteth down first and counteth the cost," and proposed the example of the two kings who were going to make war against each other.³

When they murmured because he kept company with sinners, he spake unto them the parable of the lost sheep, and of the piece of silver; the owners of which

¹ Luke xiv. 1—14.

² Luke xiv. 16—24.

³ Luke xiv. 25—32.

were as joyful at finding them as they were sorrowful at having lost them. He told them that there would be likewise joy in the presence of the angels of God over the salvation of one sinner that repenteth. But true penitence consists in contrition for sins committed, and a resolution not to repeat what is now lamented. He who has done what is forbidden, ought also, in order to satisfy the will of God, to deny himself what is permitted.¹

The Lord then gave them the parable of the frugal and prodigal sons, shewing them how the prodigal son returned to his father, who received him with the greatest kindness, and kissed him; how he put the best robe upon him, that is to say, the garb of innocence; gave him the ring of sincere faith, and put shoes on his feet, that is to say, ordained him to preach the gospel. In thus adorning the hands and feet of the convert, the Lord typified good works and missions. The father, having killed the fatted calf, made a great supper. Now his elder son, that is to say, the Jewish people, as he drew nigh to the house from the field, which represents external observances, heard music and dancing, that is to say, remarked that the sons of the church, full of the Holy Ghost, preached the gospel with harmonious voice. Having obtained information respecting the cause of these signs of joy, he was angry with his father, complaining that he had killed the fatted calf for the son who had devoured his living with harlots, and had a greater regard for him than for himself.²

After this our Lord introduced the case of the unjust steward, who, by a crafty device, reduced what was due to his lord.³

He declared that we cannot serve God and mammon; rebuked the avaricious Pharisees, telling them that the law and the prophets were until John the Baptist; and then related the parable of the unmerciful rich man who was clothed in purple, and the poor beggar, showing, from the fate of the merely selfish, what will be that of such as live by robbery.⁴

After saying, "Woe to the man by whom the offence

¹ Luke xv. 1—10.

³ Luke xvi. 1—8.

² Luke xv. 11—32.

⁴ Luke xvi. 13—31.

cometh," he commanded [Peter] to forgive a repentant brother "until seventy times seven."¹

The apostles, beseeching him to increase their faith, are taught how they might remove a sycamine-tree; and drawing a comparison between them and the servant ploughing or feeding cattle, the Lord informs them that they must confess themselves "unprofitable servants," even when they shall have done all those things which were commanded.²

As Jesus went to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered into a certain village, he cleansed ten men that were lepers, but only one of them, and he a stranger, returned to give glory to God.³

It being enquired when the kingdom of God should come, Jesus answered that it would not come with observation, and he compared the advent of the Son of man to a flash of lightning. He told them that the day of judgment ought to be continually the object of the thoughts of men, as it would come suddenly upon them; and he likened that day to the days of Noe and Lot, when death unexpectedly came upon mankind. He also spake of the two persons, either in bed, or at the mill, or in the field, one of whom would be chosen and the other left. The bed is the figure of the church in a state of rest; our Saviour speaks of two as of two persons; but we must understand the expression to mean two states of the affections; for he who, for God's sake, practices continence, so that, living without any worldly cares, he may keep his thoughts bent upon the things that be of God, will be admitted by him to happiness eternal. He, on the contrary, who, from love of the praise of men, although free from the corruption of other vices, tarnishes the purity of the monastic life to which he is devoted, will be left to eternal misery; as Jeremiah intimates in his Lamentations, when he describes the fall of an idle and sinful soul, under the figure of Judea, in these words: "The adversaries saw her, and did mock at her sabbaths."⁴ The two women grinding at the mill (in allusion to the revolutions of tem-

¹ Matt. xviii. 21, 22; Luke xvii. 1—4.

² Matt. xvii. 20; Luke xvii. 5—10.

³ Luke xvii. 11—19.

⁴ Lament. i. 7.

poral affairs), represent the vulgar who ought to be governed by their teachers, as women are by their husbands, and, by their labours in various arts, minister to the service of the church. One of them will be taken because she enters the wedded state only from a desire to have children, and makes use of her worldly substance to obtain heavenly riches; while she who marries for the sake of carnal enjoyment will be rejected. But whosoever shall offer their earthly goods to the church or to the poor, in the name of our Lord's redemption, shall have them multiplied. The two men in the field represent the labourers in the ministry of the church, performing their duties as in the field of God. The one that shall have published the word of God sincerely will be chosen; but he that shall have preached Christ imperfectly and carelessly will be left.¹

These three classes of persons constitute the church, which is divided into two distinct portions—the adopted and the rejected. For this reason the prophet Ezekiel saw three men delivered—Noah, Daniel, and Job,² in whom are shadowed the preachers of the gospel, the continent, and married people. For Noah guided the ark on the waters, and therefore represents those who govern; Daniel, retaining the gift of abstinence even at the court of a king, showed how continent men live; but Job, although united to a wife by the bonds of marriage, and obliged to take care of his own house, pleased God, and thus worthily represents the class of good married people. To teach that men ought always to pray and not to faint, the Lord spake the parable of the widow who importuned the unjust judge to avenge her of her adversary, and obtained, by incessant supplication and weariness of the judge, what she solicited with such pertinacity.³

By showing us how the Pharisee and the publican prayed in the temple, he teaches us not to extol our merits, but to confess our sins. The righteous pray without ceasing that they may be avenged of their enemies, so that all the wicked should perish. Now the wicked perish in two different ways; by being converted to righteousness, or in losing by punishment the power to do wrong.⁴

¹ Luke xvii. 20—37.

² Ezek. xiv. 14.

³ Luke xviii. 1—8.

⁴ Luke xviii. 9—14.

The Lord then foretold that he was to be delivered to the Gentiles at Jerusalem, and suffer on the cross; and when they were come nigh unto Jericho, he heard the cries of a blind man who sat by the wayside, begging. Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be brought unto him; and as soon as he had learned the request of the blind man, he mercifully restored his sight.¹

And as Jesus passed through Jericho, he saw Zaccheus, the chief among the publicans, who had climbed up into a tree, and received hospitality at the house of this man, who wished very much to see him. And when the Jews murmured, saying that he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner, Zaccheus, in the sincerity of his faith, said unto the Lord: "Behold, Lord, the half my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." And Jesus said unto him: "This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost."²

He then spake the parable of a certain nobleman who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return, after he had delivered ten pounds to his servants to trade with. When he was returned, the first came, saying: "Lord, thy pound hath gained ten pounds." This first servant is the order of teachers sent to the circumcised; he received one pound for the purpose of trade, because he is commanded to preach "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God."³ Now this same pound hath gained ten pounds, for this reason—that he has, by preaching the word, drawn to him the people living under the law. When he had been rewarded to his great satisfaction, the second came, saying: "Lord, thy pound hath gained five pounds." This servant represents the company of those who were sent to announce the gospel to the uncircumcised, and are deservedly, by a divine decree, placed at the head of those who, through their ministry, are converted to the worship of one God, having mortified the deeds of the flesh. On the other hand, the servant who,

¹ Matt. xx. 18, 19, 30—34; Mark x. 32—34, 46—52; Luke xviii. 31—43.

² Luke xix. 1—10.

³ Ephes. iv. 5, 6.

when he was commanded to trade with the money entrusted to him by his master, kept the pound laid up in a napkin, is the figure of those who, although they may be fit persons for preaching the gospel, in obedience to the Lord's commands, through the church, either decline to undertake that duty, or perform it unworthily. To tie up the money in a napkin, is to conceal the gifts we have received in sloth and uselessness. By this parable, then we understand that the two faithful servants are the teachers of both peoples; that the ten pounds and the five pounds mean believers in God; that by the wicked servant are represented bad Catholics; by the enemies, who would not allow the real heir to reign over them, the impiety of those who prefer never to hear the word of truth, or corrupt it by false interpretations. By reaping where seed had not been sown,¹ he means the separation of those who never heard the word of God. The whole human race that is to appear at the day of judgment, is certainly represented by these five persons. And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.²

St. John alone mentions that, at the feast of the dedication, in the winter, the Jews said to Jesus, who was walking in Solomon's porch: "How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." Taking advantage of this opportunity of teaching them, he answered: "I and my Father are one;" and uttered many other sublime words. For this reason the Jews, blinded by malice, took up stones to stone him [but he escaped out of their hand]. After this, he went away again beyond Jordan, into the place where John at first baptized; and there he abode. And many resorted unto him, and believed on him there.³

CH. XIV. *Lazarus restored to life.*

A CERTAIN man, named Lazarus, was sick at Bethany; and his sisters, Mary and Martha, sent unto Jesus, saying: "Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick." When Jesus heard that, he said: "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God

¹ Luke xix. 21.

² Matt. xxv. 14—30. Luke xix. 11—20.

³ John x. 22—42.

might be glorified thereby." Then he abode two days in the same place, and after that went into Judea again, and found that Lazarus had lain in the grave four days already. Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, being strong in faith, went and met him, and said: "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." She who loudly lamented the loss of her brother, spoke to our Lord with composure, and after a short conference with Christ, during which she made a true confession of faith, that is to say, acknowledged him to be the Son of God, the life and the resurrection, she called Mary her sister, saying to her in a low voice: "The Master is come, and calleth for thee." Mary arose quickly, and went out of the town to the place where Jesus had stopped; and when she saw him, she fell down at his feet, saying: "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." He—an inexhaustible fountain of pity—wept, in the midst of her friends weeping, the death of the friend they had lost; but his tears caused them ineffable joy. Jesus, groaning in himself, came to the grave, and commanded them to take away the stone from the mouth, and then, with a loud voice, called him who, in four days, had become putrid: "Lazarus, come forth." And straightway he came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and the Lord immediately ordered his disciples to loose him and let him go. After the performance of this glorious miracle, which ought to be celebrated to the end of time, they did not all believe in Jesus, but many of the Jews who came to Mary and Martha to comfort them, and saw the unhopèd-for resurrection of Lazarus, confessed their belief in Christ.¹

There is no doubt but that the Lord raised several persons from the dead; however, in the holy Gospel, by reason of a certain mystery, we read of three resurrections only. By the daughter of the chief of the synagogue, who was restored to life in her father's house before a small number of witnesses, those sinners are signified, who shut up their sinful propensities within their conscience, and do not suffer them to break out. These are often raised to spiritual life by a divine influence, which recalls them by secret checks from a depraved will. The son of the widow, who was carried beyond

¹ John xi. 1—45.

the gates of the city, and restored to life by Christ before a multitude of witnesses, represents those guilty persons, who, after consenting to perpetrate a crime, go forth, and, as it were, draw death from the darkest recesses of their soul; so that what was hidden in a secret corner, at last appears before the whole world. Such men are often admonished to their salvation, and restored to life in a divine manner by the remedy of a true conversion, as many know to their great joy. In Lazarus, already buried, already in a state of putrefaction, we have a figure of those sinners who are fettered with the bonds of depraved habits, to such a degree that wickedness has become so familiar to them, that it does not allow them to become sensible of the heinousness of the sin that they are committing; for which reason they often excuse the evil they do; and are already crushed, as it were, under the immense weight of their guilt. They presume to be angry when they are reproved, and are continually depraved by false praise, while their neighbours, observing them, are also injured. Lastly, those who, in the opinion of the world, are considered worthy of condemnation, are nevertheless internally vivified by the grace of God, and are afterwards absolved through the agency of the priest.

Or in other words, every man is born in a state of death brought on us by original sin. The first day of death is that which witnesses his birth; the second day, when, as he increases in stature, the boy becomes a man; arriving at years of discretion, he begins to find innately in his own heart the law which naturally teaches men not to do unto others what they would not have others do unto them: but, unfortunately, they often venture to transgress this law. The third day of death takes place when the written law is given to man, but this also he despises. After all Christ came; brought with him the Gospel, preached the kingdom of heaven, threatened all sinners with the torments of Gehenna, but promised eternal life to the righteous. The Gospel itself is despised, and this is the fourth day of death, as Lazarus lay in the tomb. Or again, we might say, that the four steps that lead a sinner to destruction, and bring him to the grave in which he decays, are: firstly, inclination of the heart; secondly, consent; thirdly, action;

fourthly, habit. But the grace of God recalls those who have been removed far from him by sin, and restores to life those who were sinking under the weight of their sins.

When the wonderful miracle of the divine power was published abroad by the reports of many witnesses, who, to satisfy their curiosity, had examined on the spot by what unknown law Lazarus issued from the grave, the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council to conspire against Christ; and when they heard what Caiaphas prophesied, they took counsel together to put him to death. Jesus, therefore, went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephrem, and there continued with his disciples. Now, both the chief priests and their accomplices had given a commandment that if any man knew where he was, he should make it known, that they might take him: for they were afraid that all men would follow him, and that the Romans would come and take away the kingdom from them.¹

Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany, and there they made him a supper; and Martha served, but Lazarus sat at the table. Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard [*unquentum nardi pistici*], very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped them with her hair. Spikenard is a kind of aromatic. *Pistis* [*πίστις*] in Greek, *fides* in Latin, means faith; for that reason the ointment is called *pisticum*, that is to say, faithful, because a corpse, when anointed with it, is preserved from putrefaction. The house was filled with the odour of the ointment, as the church is perfumed by the good report of a religious life. When the traitor Judas, who was a thief, and had the bag, smelt the sweet odour with which the house was filled, he was offended, and rebuked this faithful and devoted woman for what she had done. But the Lord mildly answered his harsh upbraidings: "Let her alone, for she hath wrought a good work upon me. Verily I say unto you, in the whole world shall this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her."²

Many Jews who went to Bethany, drawn thither by their

¹ John xi. 46—57.

² Matt. xxvi. 6—13; Mark xiv. 3—9; John xii. 1—8.

curiosity, saw Lazarus eating at the same table as Christ, and joyfully bore witness to the miracle. The jealous Pharisees consulted that they might, therefore, put the resuscitated man to death; but in vain did they endeavour to oppose the almighty power of Christ.¹

CH. XV. *Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem—
Teaches in the Temple.*

ON the next day much people who were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm-trees, and went forth to meet him. As the hour of his immolation drew nigh, the Lamb of God proceeded towards the spot that was to witness his passion. When he was come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, Jesus sent forth two of his disciples, saying: "Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me." And the disciples went and brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet long before: "Behold, thy king cometh unto thee,"—not sitting in a golden chariot arrayed in splendid purple, nor does he mount a fiery steed, to take the lead in discord and strife,—but is sitting upon an ass, that loves tranquillity and peace. He is not surrounded with glittering swords, but he cometh unto thee, meek; not to be dreaded for his power, but to be loved for his gentleness. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed them in the way. And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Blessed be the kingdom of our father David! Hosanna in the highest!" Some of the Pharisees said unto him, "Master, rebuke thy disciples;" but he answered and said unto them, "I tell you, that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out."² And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, and, as he foreknew every thing that was to happen,

¹ John xii. 9—11.

² Matt. xxi. 1—9; Mark xi. 1—10; Luke xix. 29—40; John xii. 12—15.

foretold all the ills that threatened it, because it knew not the time of its visitation. And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying: "Who is this?" And the multitude said, "This is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee." Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, saying: "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."¹ And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple, and he healed them. And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying, with signs of grateful joy: "Hosanna to the Son of David!" they were sore displeased, and, filled with bitter envy, they said unto him: "Hearest thou what these say?" Jesus answered, "Yea, have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?"²

And when Jesus had looked round about upon all things, he left these evil-disposed inhabitants of the city, and went out unto Bethany with the twelve, and lodged there. Now in the morning, as he returned into the city, he hungered, and coming to a fig-tree that stood by the wayside, and finding nothing thereon but leaves only, he cursed it, saying: "Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever." And presently the fig-tree withered away! This tree was the true figure of the synagogue, which had the letter of the law, but bore no fruit.³

In the temple, they asked him by what authority he did such wonderful things; but instead of answering their question, he inquired of them whether the baptism of John was from heaven or of men. Christ by this short question baffled their crafty designs, and stopped their mouths; for malice prevented their confessing the truth, that it came from heaven, and they were not bold enough to deny it openly, because they feared the people.

He then laid before them the parable of the two sons,

¹ Isa. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11; Matt. xxi. 10—13; Mark xi. 15—17; Luke. xix. 41—46; John ii. 13—16.

² Matt. xxi. 14—16.

³ Matt. xxi. 17—19; Mark xi. 11—14, 20.

whom their father sent to work in his vineyard; and who began and ended their day so differently; for one obeyed the will of his father, not in word, but in deed; while the other disobeyed him, and showed his contempt of his father's authority not by word of mouth, but by his actions.¹

The Lord also added the parable of the householder which planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. Now these men took the servants whom he had sent to receive the fruits of the vineyard, and beat one, as Jeremiah; killed another, as Isaiah; stoned another, as Naboth and Zacharias; and, lastly, crucified the Son of God. The servants successively sent typify the law, the psalms, and the prophecies; by whose teaching men might learn to do right. But the messengers are beaten and driven away, when the word is despised, or, what is worse, blasphemed. He who tramples under foot the Son of God, and does despite unto the Spirit of grace, kills, as far as he is able, the heir to the vineyard. When the wicked husbandman is destroyed, the vineyard is given to another; while the proud lose the gift of grace, the humble receive it.²

Jesus spake a third parable unto them, of a certain king which made a marriage for his son; and when they that were bidden to the wedding made light of it, he sent forth his armies, and punished them.³

The Pharisees with the Herodians tempted him, by asking if it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not. When they had brought unto him a penny, Jesus answered: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."⁴

The Sadducees also attempted to make him fall into a snare, by describing the case of the woman who had seven husbands, and asking him: "In the resurrection, whose wife shall she be of them?" Jesus answered: "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are

¹ Matt. xxi. 23—32; Mark xi. 27—33; Luke xx. 1—8.

² Matt. xxi. 33—41; Mark xii. 1—9; Luke xx. 9—16.

³ Matt. xxii. 1—7.

⁴ Matt. xxii. 15—21; Mark xii. 13—17; Luke xx. 20—25.

given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." In this manner the good Master inspires the children of the church with confidence, that, at the resurrection, they will enjoy the vision of God, unspotted by corruption.¹

When he was questioned by the doctor of the law as to which was the great commandment in it, he said: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." He now asked the Pharisees whose son Christ was; and confounded them, showing them that he was the Lord of David, and thus put them to silence so effectually, that no man "durst, from that day forth, ask him any more questions;" but now they began openly to take steps to deliver him into the hands of the Romans.² Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to his disciples: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not. For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do to be seen of men; they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi. But be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your Master, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in." In this manner Jesus uttered many things for the benefit of mankind, teaching

¹ Matt. xxii. 23—30; Mark xii. 18—27; Luke xx. 27—36.

² Matt. xxii. 34—46; Mark xii. 28—37; Luke xx. 41—44.

the simple, but confounding the hypocrites. He spoke of those who swear by the temple, and by the gold that is in the temple; of the altar, and the gifts that are thereon; of the divine mercy, which had sent unto them prophets, and wise men, and scribes, and of the cruelty of the Jews, which was exhibited in the various kinds of death which they inflicted upon those who were sent from God. He mourned over Jerusalem, lamenting, not the buildings, but the inhabitants. Twice he repeated, in a sorrowful tone: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! which slew the prophets, and would not repent of her wickedness."¹

On Jesus departing from the temple, and his disciples pointing to the magnificent buildings, he answered: "There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, his disciples privately questioned him, as Matthew and Mark affirm, about the time and the signs of this predicted destruction. To their inquiry as to when the end of the world should be, he answered that many great calamities would come to pass before that day, wars between nation and nation, earthquakes in divers places, pestilences, and famines; fearful sights from heaven, and great signs. He foretold many things relating to the persecutions they would have to suffer, and to his own coming on the earth; warning the faithful, when they were delivered up, to take no thought beforehand what they should speak, but in their patience to possess their souls. He predicted that Jerusalem would be compassed with an army, and then woe unto them that are with child; that they would fall by the edge of the sword, or be led away captive into all nations; that there would be signs in heaven; and that they would see him coming in a cloud with power and great glory. "Then look up," said he, "for your redemption draweth nigh." Forbidding drunkenness and the cares of this life, he exhorted them to watch and to pray always. He rebuked the scribes for their pride, and declared that the widow who threw two mites into the treasury had cast in more than they all.²

In the parable of the fig-tree, he teaches us how the end

¹ Matt. xxiii.; Mark xii. 38—40; Luke xx. 45—47.

² Matt. xxiv.; Mark xii. 38—44; xiii.; Luke xx. 45—47; xxi. 1—36.

of the world will come. He relates the parables of the ten virgins, and of the householder who left his servants in charge of his goods, and went into a far country; describes the advent of the Son of man in his glory, and all the holy angels with him; speaks of the sheep that are to be set on his right hand, separated from the goats that are to be placed on his left; of the retribution of the wicked, who are to go away into everlasting punishment; and of the reward of the righteous, who are to go away into life eternal.¹

CH. XVI. *The holy supper instituted—Christ's discourse.*

Now, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him: "Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover?" And he said unto Peter and John: "Go ye into the city, to a certain man, whom one bearing a pitcher of water shall point out to you; follow him into the house where he entereth in, and say ye to the good man of the house: Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room furnished; there make ready." And they went forth, and found as he had said unto them; and they made ready the Passover. And in the evening, he came with the twelve, and as they sat he said unto them: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."² According to St. John,³ the supper being ended, the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him; Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God, rose from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself. After that, he poured water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. After he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them: "Know ye what I

¹ Matt. xxiv. 32, 33; xxv.; Mark xiii. 28, 29; Luke xix. 11—27.

² Matt. xxvi. 17—20; Mark xiv. 12—17; Luke xxii. 7—16.

³ John xiii. 1—20.

have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am. If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." And so on, until he says: "He that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me."

Saint Matthew relates that, as his disciples did eat, Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me." And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say: "Lord, is it I?" And he answered and said: "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." And, as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said: "Take, eat; this is my body." And taking the cup, he gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you: I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."¹

The Lord, on the night when he was delivered up, prayed three times; to show us that we should pray to be pardoned for our past sins, to be protected from present evils, and to be warned against future perils; addressing all our prayers to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It is also to be remarked that as the temptation of desire is triple, so is also the temptation of fear: lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes, worldly ambition; fear of death, fear of shame, fear of pain. Against all which he teaches us that we ought to fortify ourselves by prayer. For which reason we understand why the Lord prayed three times on account of the triple temptation of his passion.

That great divine, St. John, relates that Jesus, after he had washed the feet of Peter, who reluctantly submitted, and the other apostles, obscurely pointed out his betrayer by referring to the mysterious prophecies contained in Scripture, saying: "He that eateth bread with me will lift up his heel against me." Afterwards, when he had determined to make him better known, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me." Then the disciples looked

¹ Matt. xxvi. 21—29; Mark xiv. 18—25; Luke xxii. 17—23.

one on another, doubting of whom he spake. And Simon Peter beckoned to John, who was leaning on Jesus' bosom, and John asked him: "Lord, who is it?" Jesus answered: "He it is to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it." And when he had dipped the sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the sop, Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him. "That thou doest, do quickly." Now no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him. He then went immediately out; and it was night. Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said: "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him." And many other words of deep meaning spake Jesus, concerning the true love of God and of one's neighbour, the unity of the Trinity, Peter's denying him thrice, and the coming of the Holy Ghost to comfort them; on the observance of God's commandments, and the rewards prepared for the righteous; of the persecutions of the faithful, and the inevitable condemnation of the wicked; the dispersion of his disciples; and his own passion, now nigh at hand.

When Jesus had finished this incomparable discourse, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and audibly addressed a compassionate prayer to his Father on behalf of his disciples and all those that should believe in God through their word. In this prayer the merciful speaker implored his Father to grant us much more than our human frailty would ever presume to ask.¹

Then, according to St. Luke, there was a strife among his disciples, which of them should be accounted the greatest; but their heavenly Teacher recalled them to a sense of humility by his example and sayings. He thus kindly put a stop to the contention among his weak-minded disciples, declaring that his love for them led him to be their servant. He also promised a kingdom to those who had continued with him in his temptations; and, after further discourse he said to Peter, when rashly boasting: "Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." And he said unto him: "Lord, I am ready to go with thee,

¹ John xiii. 18—xvii. 26.

both into prison and to death.” Jesus answered: “I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.” And he said unto them: “When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything?” And they said: “Nothing.” Then said he unto them: “But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip; and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.” And they said: “Behold, here are two swords.” And he said: “It is enough.”¹

CH. XVII. *Christ arrested—Arraigned before the Sanhedrim—and before Herod and Pilate.*

AND when they had sung an hymn, as Matthew and Mark relate, they went out to the Mount of Olives. Then saith Jesus unto them: “All ye shall be offended because of me this night.” And they came to a place called Gethsemane, which signifies the *valley of fat things*, or *of fatness*; and he saith unto the disciples: “Sit ye here, and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.” And he taketh with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sore amazed and sorrowful, and very heavy. And he was withdrawn from them about a stone’s cast, and kneeled down and prayed, saying: “Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done.” And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him; and being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat was, as it were, drops of blood, falling down to the ground. We understand that on the other side of the brook Cedron, there was a garden, into the which he entered, and his disciples. Judas also knew the place; so, having received a band of men and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, he came thither with lanterns, and torches, and weapons. And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said: “Hail, master; and kissed him.” Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him. Then Jesus, as St. John informs us, said unto them: “Whom seek ye?” They answered him: “Jesus of Nazareth.” As soon as he had said: “I am

¹ Luke xxii. 24—38.

he," they went backward, and fell to the ground, and so on.¹

St. Luke tells us that, when they which were about him saw what would follow, they said unto him: "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" Then Peter smote the high priest's servant (Malchus), and cut off his right ear. Jesus answered their question by saying: "Suffer ye thus far." And he immediately added, addressing Peter, who had made use of the sword, as St. Matthew records: "Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve (thousand) legions of angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" We may add to these words what St. John tells us he said also in this place: "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" Then, as St. Luke says, he touched the ear of Malchus, and healed him. In that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes: "Are ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves for to take me? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me. But this is your hour and the power of darkness." Then all the disciples forsook him and fled. One young man followed him having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and when they laid hold on him, he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked. The captain, with his band, and the officers of the Jews, came among the crowd, and they bound our Saviour, and led him away to Annas first, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, and high priest that same year.²

But Peter followed him afar off, unto the high priest's palace, and went into the hall, to see the end, and there he sat with the servants, and warmed himself at the fire, for it was cold. Now this fire was kindled in the midst of the hall, and when the servants had seated themselves round it, Peter placed himself among them. St. Peter is to be regarded with great veneration for following the Lord in

¹ Matt. xxvi. 30—50; Mark xiv. 26—46; Luke xxii. 39—48; John xviii. 1—9.

² Matt. xxvi. 51—57; Mark xiv. 47—53; Luke xxii. 49—54; John xviii. 10—14.

spite of his fear. It was natural for him to fear; his following his Master was a token of devotion; his denial, of deceit; his repentance, of faith.¹

Now the chief priests and all the council sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death; but found none, though many false witnesses came. When Jesus held his peace, the high priest said unto him: "I adjure thee, by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Jesus said unto him: "Thou hast said." Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying: "He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? Behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye?" They answered: "He is guilty of death." Then did they spit in his face, and strike him with the palms of their hands; some began to cover his face, others buffeted him, saying: "Prophecy unto us, thou Christ; who is he that smote thee?" We understand that the Lord suffered all these things during the night he passed in the house of the chief priest, into which he was first led; there, also. Peter was tempted, while all these insults were offered to the Lord. According to St. Mark, the triple denial of St. Peter was begun before the first crowing of the cock, and finished before the cock crew again. The three other evangelists relate that, before the first crowing, St. Peter had showed all these signs of grief and fear. Then Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him: "Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." And he went out, and wept bitterly.²

The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples and his doctrine. Jesus answered him: "I spake openly to the world, I plainly taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them; behold, they know what I said." And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying: "Answerest thou the high priest so?" Jesus answered him: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the

¹ Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54; Luke xxii. 54—62; John xviii. 15, 18.

² Matt. xxvi. 59—75; Mark xiv. 55—72; Luke xxii. 56—65; John xviii. 17, 25—27.

evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.¹

When the morning was come, as Matthew relates,² all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death; and when they had bound him, they led him away, and delivered him to Pontius Pilate, the governor. St. Luke³ has given an account of what happened to our Lord about dawn, when the men that held him mocked him and smote him; and when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face; and many things blasphemously spake they against him. And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people, and the chief priests, and the scribes came together, and led him into their council, saying: "If thou art the Christ, tell us." And he said unto them: "If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God." Then said they all: "Art thou, then, the Son of God?" And he said unto them: "Ye say that I am." And they said: "What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth." And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate. Luke has recounted these circumstances; but Matthew and Mark have related all that befell our Lord until morning; afterwards they return to their account of Peter's denial; and when this is finished, they go back to what took place early in the morning, and continue their narrative of all that happened to our Saviour from that time.

St. John⁴ says: then led they Jesus to Caiaphas,⁵ unto the hall of judgment [prætorium]: and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover. But the base crowds assembled there, bringing the Lord with them, as if he were already convicted, and, with the consent of Caiaphas, to whom it had before appeared expedient that Jesus should die, no delay was allowed to intervene before he was delivered to Pilate to be condemned.

¹ John xviii. 19—24.

² Chap. xxvii. 1, 2; Mark xv. 1.

³ Chap. xxii. 63—xxiii. 1.

⁴ John xviii. 28.

⁵ According to St. John, *from* Caiaphas.

St. Matthew¹ is the only evangelist who mentions the death of the traitor Judas, which he does in these words: "Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying: 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood.' And they said, 'What is that to us? see thou to that.' And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. The chief priests took the silver pieces, and said: 'It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.' And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field is called, 'Acel-dama,' that is, *the field of blood*, unto this day. Then was fulfilled all that had been foretold long before."²

And now the holy evangelists take pains to describe, in regular order, all that happened to our Lord before Pilate; facts which the studious reader ought himself to investigate with diligence, and put each in its proper place. During the passion of Christ, many things were said, and many questions answered, as Augustine, bishop of Hippo, judiciously remarks, in the third book of his work, called: "The Harmony of the Evangelists," from which each of the holy writers selected what seemed to him expedient, and inserted in his history what, in his judgment, sufficed. Matthew relates that Jesus stood before the governor, who, asking him if he were the king of the Jews, he answered: "Thou sayest." Pilate then went out, as we read in the gospel according to St. John, to those who would not enter the judgment-hall, and said: "What accusation bring you against this man?" They answered: "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee." Then said Pilate unto them: "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." The Jews said unto him: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Then Pilate entered into the judgment-hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him: "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus answered: "Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others

¹ Chap. xxvii. 3—9; Acts i. 18, 19.

² St. Matthew quotes Jeremiah, in whose prophecy no such passage is extant. See Zachar. xi. 12, 13.

tell it thee of me?" Pilate answered: "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me. What hast thou done?" Jesus answered: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." Pilate therefore said unto him: "Art thou a king, then?" Jesus answered: "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate saith unto him: "What is truth?" And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them: "I find in him no fault at all." Then, as Luke relates, the Jews, becoming furious, began to accuse him, saying: "We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king." And when, as Matthew says, he was accused of the chief priests and elders of the people, he answered nothing; so great was his meekness! Then said Pilate unto him: "Hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?" And he answered him never a word; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly. When Pilate was sat down on the judgment-seat, his wife sent unto him, saying: "Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him." St. Luke writes that, when Pilate said: "I find no fault in this man," the Jews were the more fierce, saying: "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place." When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean; and as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time. And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad; for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him, and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him. Then he questioned with him in many words; but he answered him nothing. And the chief priests and scribes stood, and vehemently accused him. And Herod, with his men of war, set him at naught, and arrayed him in a white robe, and

sent him again to Pilate. And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together, for before they were at enmity between themselves.

And Pilate, when he had called together the rulers and the people, said unto them: "Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people; and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in him, touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him, and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him and release him." For he knew that for envy they had delivered him. Now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would. Therefore, when they were gathered together, he said unto them: "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?" But the chief priests persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus. Now Barabbas was a notable prisoner, who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. The governor said unto them: "Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you?" They said: "Barabbas." Pilate saith unto them: "What shall I do then with Jesus, which is called Christ?" They all said unto him: "Let him be crucified." And the governor said: "Why? what evil hath he done?" But they cried out the more, saying: "Let him be crucified." When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." Then answered all the people: "His blood be on us, and on our children." Then released he Barabbas unto them, and took Jesus, and scourged him." St. John informs us, that the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and they put on him a purple robe, and coming up to him, said: "Hail, King of the Jews!" And they smote him with their hands. Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them: "Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him." Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them: "Behold the man!" When the chief priests, there-

fore, and officers saw him, they cried out, saying: "Crucify him, crucify him." Pilate saith unto them: "Take ye him, and crucify him; for I find no fault in him." The Jews answered him: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." When, therefore, Pilate heard that saying, he was the more afraid; and went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus: "Whence art thou?" But Jesus gave him no answer. Pilate therefore said unto him: "Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?" Jesus answered: "Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above; therefore, he that hath delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." From thenceforth Pilate sought to release him; but the Jews cried out, saying: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar."

CH. XVIII. *Christ sentenced—Crucified—And buried.*

WHEN Pilate, therefore, heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, "Gabbatha." And it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour; and he saith unto the Jews: "Behold your king!" But they cried out: "Away with him, away with him, crucify him." Pilate saith unto them: "Shall I crucify your king?" The chief priests answered: "We have no king but Cæsar." Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified.¹

Such is the account John gives us of what Pilate said and did; things that Matthew and Mark, omitting at first, afterwards recollected. Thus Matthew says: "Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band; and they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand; and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying: "Hail,

¹ Matt. xxvii. 11—26; Mark xv. 1—15; Luke xxiii. 1—25; John xviii. 28—40.

King of the Jews!" And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head. And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe (or the purple, according to St. Mark) off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him. John relates that Jesus, "bearing his cross, went forth into a place called Golgotha," or Mount Calvary. "And they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus," a fact mentioned by three evangelists; "and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it" to the place just named.

They crucified Jesus in Golgotha, between two malefactors, and gave him wine mingled with myrrh; and set up over his head his accusation written: "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews." And this title was written in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew.²

Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves: "Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be;" that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith: "They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots."³

The rulers and the scribes railed on him as he hanged on the cross, wagging their heads, and saying: "Ah! thou that destroyest the temple of God, and buildest it in three days, save thyself.⁴ If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross."

We learn from Luke that one of the malefactors which were hanged, railed on him, saying: "If thou be Christ, save thyself and us." But the other rebuked him, saying: "Dost thou not fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the

¹ Matt. xxvii. 27—33; Mark xv. 16—22; Luke xxiii. 26; John xix. 17.

² Matt. xxvii. 34—38; Mark xv. 23, 25—27; Luke xxiii. 32, 33, 36, 38; John xix. 17—20.

³ Psalm xxi. 19; Matt. xxvii. 35; Mark xv. 24; Luke xxiii. 34; John xix. 23, 24.

⁴ We follow here the text of the Bible and Duchesne. The MS. of Saint-Evrault reads *destruit et reedificat* in the third person. Matt. xxvii. 38—44; Mark xv. 27—32.

due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss." And he said unto Jesus: "Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom." And Jesus said unto him: "Verily I say unto thee: To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."¹

Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus, therefore, saw his mother, and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother: "Woman, behold thy son." Then saith he to the disciple: "Behold thy mother." And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.²

From the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour, and at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: "Eli, Eli, lama-zababdani?" that is to say: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, saith: "I thirst." Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar; and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth. And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, according to Luke, he said: "Father, into the hands I commend my spirit."³

At last, according to John, when Jesus had received the vinegar, he said: "It is finished;" and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost. And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept, arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. Now when the centurion and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake and those things that were done,

¹ Luke xxiii. 37, 39—43.

² John xix. 25—27.

³ Matt. xxvii. 45—49; Mark xv. 33—36; Luke xxiii. 44—46; John xix. 28, 29. The words which Jesus Christ pronounced when upon the cross: Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani! belong to the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, which was spoken at Jerusalem at that period. We find them in Hebrew in the twenty-second psalm, ver. 1: Eli, Eli, lama azabtani! It seems to have been the author's intention to have given them in this latter form.

they feared greatly, saying: "Truly this was the Son of God." And many women which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him, stood afar off; among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children. And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned.¹

When the even was come, Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, a good man and a just, who also himself waited for the kingdom of God (being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews), went boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus; and the governor, when he knew of the centurion that he was already dead, gave Joseph leave to take it. Joseph came, therefore, and took the body of Jesus, and having bought fine linen, he wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre. And there came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, hewn out of a rock, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand. The women, whose names we have already mentioned, and whose affection for him was the most ardent, sat over against the sepulchre, and beheld where he was laid.²

Now the next day, the priests and Pharisees falsely reported to Pilate some of the words of the Lord, and having obtained his consent, they sealed the stone, and placed soldiers all round to keep watch over the sepulchre.³

CH. XIX. *Our Lord's resurrection—Harmony of the accounts of the evangelists, from St. Augustine.*

WE read in the evangelical narrative an account of

¹ Matt. xxvii. 50—56; Mark xv. 37—41; Luke xxiii. 46—49; John xix. 30.

² Matt. xxvii. 57—61; Mark xv. 42—47; Luke xxiii. 50—55; John xix. 38—42.

³ Matt. xxvii. 62—66.

several circumstances which took place at the resurrection of our Lord, which would appear to be irreconcilable, unless the order in which they happened is carefully considered. It may, therefore, be well to consult what Augustine, an enlightened commentator on the holy Scriptures, says upon this subject, in the third book of his "Harmony of the Evangelists," which I shall quote in his own words. Thus, after discussing several questions, he makes this declaration: "I will endeavour, by God's help, to collect in one continuous narration all the facts immediately connected with our Lord's resurrection, according to the testimonies of the several evangelists, so far as they can be arranged."¹

They all agree in the coming [of the women] to the sepulchre, as it began to dawn on the first day of the week; before which, however, the facts which Matthew alone relates had occurred, viz., the great earthquake, the rolling back of the stone, the consternation of the keepers, some of whom lay near the spot like dead men. According to John, Mary Magdalene came, no doubt with the other women who ministered to our Lord, but her affection for him was more ardent; and therefore, with good reason, John makes particular mention of her, passing over in silence the names of those who, according to the statements of the other evangelists, were with her. She came, therefore, and when she saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre, before she had examined anything attentively, not doubting that the body of Jesus was removed, as John tells us, she ran to announce to himself, as well as to Simon Peter, what she had seen. This John was the disciple whom Jesus loved. And they both began to run towards the sepulchre, and John, coming first to the place, stooped down, and saw the linen clothes lying, yet went he not in. Then cometh Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then John went in also, and saw and believed what Mary had said, that they had

¹ St. August., de Consens. Evangel., iii. 69. The quotation from St. Augustine continues to the end of the first paragraph in page 83 here following.

taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre; for as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre, weeping, that is to say, before the spot where the tomb had been hewn out of the rock, although within the space where the women had already entered. Now in that place there was a garden, as John informs us. They then saw on their right hand the angel who had rolled back the stone from the door of the sepulchre; and was sitting upon it. Of this angel Matthew and Mark speak in the following terms: "Then said he unto the women: 'Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.'" What Mark relates does not differ from Matthew's narrative.

As Mary wept on hearing these words, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre, and, as John informs us, "saw two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. They say unto her: 'Woman, why weepest thou?' She saith unto them: 'Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.'" We must understand that the angels had risen, and that they were seen standing, as Luke mentions, when they said to the women who were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again." And they remembered his words.¹

After this, Mary turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, as John tells us, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her: "Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith

¹ Matt. xxviii. 1—7; Mark xvi. 1—7; Luke xxiv. 1—8; John xx. 1—13.

unto him: "Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." Jesus saith unto her: "Mary." She turned herself, and saith unto him: "Rabboni," which is to say, "Master." Jesus saith unto her: "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren, and say unto them: 'I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.'"

She then departed from the sepulchre, that is to say, the place where the garden lay before the cave in the rock, accompanied by the other women, who, as Mark informs us, "trembled, and were amazed, neither said they anything to any man." And as they went, behold, Jesus met them, saying: "All hail." And they came, and clung to his feet, and worshipped him. From these statements we gather, that, during their visit to the tomb, they were twice addressed by the angels, as well as by the Lord himself; that is to say, the first time when Mary supposed him to be the gardener, and afterwards when Jesus came to meet them in the way. By appearing twice before these women, he confirmed their faith, and allayed their fears. He then said unto them: "Be not afraid; go, tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me." Mary Magdalene, therefore, came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her; and not only unto her, but also to the other women who are mentioned in the gospel of Luke. They told these things unto the eleven disciples, and to all the rest; and their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. Mark attests these facts. Indeed, after he has described the state of these women, who went out of the sepulchre trembling and amazed to such a degree that they did not say anything to any man; he adds that, when the Lord was risen he appeared first—early the first day of the week—to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils; and that she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept, who, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not. Matthew inserts this additional circumstance in his narrative, that, after the departure of the women who had seen and heard all these things, some of the watch, who had fallen to the ground as dead men, came into the

city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done, that is to say, all that they had seen and known. When the priests were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large bribes unto the soldiers to induce them to say that his disciples had stolen him away while they slept; promising at the same time to secure them from the anger of the governor, who had placed them there to guard the tomb. The soldiers took the money, and did as they were taught; and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day. Luke is the only evangelist who does not say that our Saviour appeared to the women, but only the angels. Now Matthew asserts that Jesus met them on their return from the sepulchre. Mark also assures us, as well as John, that he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, but does not tell us how he appeared to her, while John explains this.¹

As the four evangelists agree, in their faithful narratives, on all that the Almighty Emmanuel did before his passion; so they relate, in harmony with each other, his resurrection and ascension, and inform us that the Lord was seen by mortal eyes on ten occasions after he had risen from the dead: once by the women at the sepulchre; again, by these same women in the way as they returned from the tomb; the third time he appeared to Simon Peter; and if the evangelist has not informed us when or where the meeting took place, he plainly declares that it did occur. The fourth time, he appeared to the two disciples who were going to a village called Emmaus, but in another form, that they might not know him; he accompanied them in the way as a traveller, and inquired of them the cause of their sadness and of their complaints. When he heard the lamentation of Cleopas concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people, and how they delivered him to be condemned to death, he gently reproved them for being slow of heart to believe all that the prophets had spoken; and beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them the Scriptures. And they constrained him to accept of their hospitality; and, as he sat at meat with them, he took

¹ Matt. xxviii. 8—15; Mark xvi. 8—11; Luke xxiv. 9—12; John xx. 14—18.

bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And while he was breaking the bread, he opened their eyes, that they might know him; and as soon as they had recognized him, he vanished out of their sight. His fifth appearance was at Jerusalem when several of the disciples were assembled in the evening, as Luke and John inform us, but Thomas was not among them. Jesus entered the place, although they had shut the doors ["for fear of the Jews"], shewed unto them his hands and his side, took a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb, and did eat before them. He then breathed on them, and said unto them: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." The sixth time that he appeared was after eight days, when Thomas saw him, and said: "My Lord and my God." The seventh time he shewed himself at the Sea of Tiberias, when seven of his disciples, who were fishing, saw him in the morning, after a night's toil, and ate bread and fish with him on the shore, after the miraculous draught of 153 fishes. The eighth time he appeared on a mountain in Galilee, according to Matthew; and when they saw him they worshipped him, but some doubted. He then said unto them: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." His ninth visit, Mark tells us, was when he appeared for the last time unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart. It is called the last time, because they were not to be with him any longer on the earth. His tenth appearance, as we read in the narrative of Mark and Luke, took place on the same day: the disciples saw him not here below, but as he was ascending into heaven, taken up in a cloud. Such was the number of times, that our Saviour is said in the writings of the evangelists, to have been seen of man before he ascended into heaven; that is to say, nine times on earth, and once as he rose through the air; but, as John says, all his acts are not recorded. And, indeed, they had many opportunities of being in company with him during the forty days that preceded his ascension,

although he did not remain with them throughout the whole time. John informs us that, between the first day of his resurrection and his next appearance, there was an interval of eight days. In this manner, appearing during those forty days, as often as he would, to whom he would, and as he would, he confirmed his disciples in the belief of his resurrection.¹

CH. XX. *Christ's last appearances upon earth—His ascension—The eleven apostles—Matthias elected.*

MARK and Luke mention our Lord's two last appearances, and relate all that was said and done. We read in Mark that he upbraided the doubtful, for their hardness of heart, but said unto those who were strong in the faith: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." So then after the Lord Jesus had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. Moreover Luke at the end of his Gospel says: "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven."² Again in the opening chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, he speaks of the ascension in these words: "And being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, said he, 'ye have heard of me; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.' When they, therefore, were come together, they asked of him, saying: 'Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?' And he said unto them: 'It is not for you to know the times or the seasons

¹ Matt. xxviii. 16—20; Mark xvi. 12—19; Luke xxiv. 13—49; John xx. 19; xxi.

² Mark xvi. 15—19; Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

which the Father hath put in his own power, but ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.' And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven, as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said: 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.' Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey." There, as Luke testifies, these faithful disciples rejoiced greatly in the triumph of their heavenly Master, continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, both in the temple and in an upper room, and waited with confidence for the promise of the Father, as Jesus had commanded them.¹ All that they had heard him say was fully proved to them by the miracles which they saw performed before their own eyes. And, indeed, as they had often heard from his own lips that he should have to endure the most cruel sufferings during his passion, and that he should rise again in triumph on the third day; now they rejoiced to see the immortal Giver of life overcome the sharpness of death, and triumph because he is exalted above the heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father. Angels also appeared in white apparel, and, addressing the men of Galilee, while filled with admiration they looked stedfastly toward heaven, pointed out to them the great joy both of angels and of men, and announced that Jesus would re-appear at the end of the world to judge all nations.²

Peter and John, James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James, who remained with the Lord Jesus unto the end, were called by him the salt of the earth and the light of the world; and justly so, for they despised this world, in order to follow his steps, and were rewarded by being appointed by God rulers

¹ Luke xxiv. 52, 53; Act. Apost. i. 1--14.

² Acts i. 10, 11.

and judges of the earth. When this venerable company was returned to Jerusalem, Peter, who was the first called and the greatest in dignity among the apostles, stood up in the midst of the disciples, who were about an hundred and twenty in number. He began his address to them by speaking of the fate of the traitor Judas, who, having hung himself between heaven and earth, burst asunder in the midst, and his bowels gushed out because he was unworthy of a place in either; this happened after he had purchased with the reward for betraying Christ, a field called "Aceldama," that is to say, *The field of blood*. He then reminded them that they were, as David had foretold, to ordain another apostle in his room, that he might take part in this heavenly ministry and apostleship. All, therefore, adopted the proposal of their president, and in order to complete the sacred number of the apostles they appointed two, Joseph, surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they gave forth their lots, after Peter had offered up a prayer, which the rest confirmed, and the lot falling upon Matthias, he was numbered with the eleven apostles.¹

These twelve apostles represent the hours of the day, and the twelve months of the entire year, and had been often signified long before in dark sayings of the prophets and patriarchs. They are held in reverence by all the nations of the faithful, and justly regarded as the senators of heaven, and the glorious princes of the church; because they are grafted as fruitful branches into Christ, the true vine. In the Lord's field, they faithfully followed his steps among men, more especially by voluntary poverty; and having, as companions and partakers of the same mysteries, shone with the effulgence of miraculous powers, they now sit together on celestial thrones, the righteous judges of the twelve tribes of Israel. And as, while they were on earth, they had without ceasing contended for the prize set before them, and indefatigably laboured in the church, as Christ's faithful vicars and witnesses, so now they shine as his blessed co-heirs in heaven.

¹ Acts i. 3, 15—26.

CH. XXI. *Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost.*

XXI. And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, and the faithful disciples were all with one accord in one place, at the third hour of the day, suddenly there came a sound from heaven, and the Holy Ghost descended in the form of tongues, like as of fire, and sat upon each of them, filling them with all wisdom and heavenly gifts. O how quick and skilful is the heavenly Artificer, the sweet and vivifying helper of those souls which desire his unction! This celestial fire, which did not consume, but illumine, came down to inflame fully the hearts of the disciples, and free them from the attractions of carnal pleasures, and from the dread of punishment. It suddenly taught them to speak with other tongues, strengthened their minds by authority, and raised them to the summit of virtue, against all the wiles of the enemy. The apostles spake of the wonderful works of God in divers tongues, so that strangers out of every nation under heaven were amazed that these Galileans, who had never quitted their native land, should speak so fluently in every language. The Jews, full of envy, and confounded by this miracle, and accustomed as they were to put a wrong construction upon the words and works of Christ, asserted that these men, who were showing forth the mighty works of God, were full of new wine, which made them talk like madmen. But Peter, who was indeed intoxicated with spiritual drink, rose up against these perfidious men, spoke to them the words of saving wisdom, treated eloquently of the incarnation, the passion, and the resurrection of Christ, and, with the help of the Holy Spirit, confounded the multitude of the malicious. As he had once smitten with the sword Malchus, and had cut off the ear of this servant of the high priest, so with the spiritual word of God he pierced the hearts of those who were carnally slaves to the letter of the Mosaic law, and commanded the neophytes to banish from their minds the recollection of the ancient ceremonies and observances. These same Jews who, shortly before, had so cruelly persecuted the Messiah to death, were exhorted by St. Peter, in a fervent address, to repent and to be baptized in

the name of Jesus Christ; and as he had been hitherto accustomed to take fish from the sea by means of his net, so now, by performing the sacred duties of a preacher, he drew the wandering sinner from the depths of ignorance, to set his feet on the solid ground of faith. In one day he baptized three thousand of those who were converted, and, putting on the new man, had cast off the old things of a carnal life.¹

CH. XXII. *Recapitulation of preceding twenty-one chapters—Continuation of History proposed.*

AND now, by God's help, I have compiled a plain narrative of all that passed from the birth of Christ to the coming of the Holy Ghost the Comforter; and have collected and briefly arranged our Lord's miracles from the writings of the evangelists, as well as my feeble powers enabled me, or I have gained from the accounts given by the fluent Augustine² and other doctors of the church. I have endeavoured in this work to be useful to my fellow creatures and to myself; wishing especially to be of some service to those who dislike the perusal of those learned and extensive works; for which purpose I have collected the accounts of our Lord's miracles, which are spread over four books, and comprised them within the limits of a small volume. Moreover, I have generally been anxious to adopt the very words I found in the authentic books; and although, for brevity's sake, I have been frequently compelled to alter their language, yet I have made every effort to arrive at the precise truth, and have never voluntarily deviated from received opinions.

And now, purposing to continue this history, in order that the reader may clearly understand the chronology, I shall insert some information, which the ancient fathers have given upon the subject in their works. For Eusebius of Cesarea, St. Jerome, who understood three languages, the Spanish philosophers Orosius and Isidore of Seville,

¹ Acts ii. 1—41.

² As our author here states, he has principally drawn the materials for the twenty-one preceding chapters, occupied with the life of Jesus Christ, from St. Augustine's treatise on the "Harmony of the Evangelists."

and several others, have written at large on the course of former events, and especially Beda, the priest, in his book entitled, "*De Temporibus.*"¹ He is the latest² of the English writers, and carefully studied to imitate the style of the ancients.

CH. XXIII. *Series of emperors of Rome and Constantinople, from Tiberius to Leo the Isaurian.*

TIBERIUS, the step-son of Octavianus Augustus, being the son of Livia his wife by a former husband, reigned twenty-three years. In the twelfth year of his reign, he sent Pilate into Judea, as procurator of that province. Herod the tetrarch, when he had been in possession of this principality twenty-four years, founded the cities of Tiberias and Libias, in honour of the emperor Tiberius and his mother Livia.³

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, our Lord Jesus, after his baptism, as was foretold by St. John, preached the kingdom of heaven to the world, four thousand years after the creation, according to the Hebrews, as is proved by Eusebius, in his *Chronicles*; we must here notice that the fifteenth year of Tiberius corresponds with the commencement of the eighty-first Jubilee among the Jews; if we consult these same *Chronicles*, which Eusebius himself compiled, as he thought best, from the two editions extant,⁴ we find five thousand, two hundred, and twenty-eight years.

¹ It is not the work of Bede, "*De Temporibus*," but the one bearing the title, "*De Sex Ætatibus Mundi*," which our author has followed, for the most part literally, through most of the historical and chronological notices that occupy the remaining portion of this book.

² Bede, however, died A.D. 735.

³ Pilate succeeded in the government of Judea A.D. 26 or 27, of which he was dispossessed in the year 37. Tiberias appears to have been founded in the year seventeen of Jesus Christ, which does not correspond with the twenty-fourth, but with the nineteenth or twentieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas. The town called, in honour of Livia, sometimes Libias, sometimes Julias (Livia herself having taken the name of Julia after she had been adopted by Augustus in his will), already existed under the name of Beth-Haram, or Beth-Ramphta.

⁴ That is to say, from the text as it was before Origen, and that which had been corrected by him. The first was called *Editio Vulgaris*; the second, *Editio Hexaplaris*.

In the eighteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, our Lord redeemed the world by his passion, and rising again victoriously from the dead on the third day, showed himself openly to his faithful disciples, and on the fortieth day ascended into heaven before their eyes. Agrippa, surnamed Herod, whose father was Aristobulus, son of King Herod, went to Rome, to impeach Herod the tetrarch, but was thrown into prison by order of Tiberius,¹ where he made himself many friends, especially Caius (Caligula), son of Germanicus.

Caius, surnamed Caligula, reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. He gave the kingdom of Judea to his friend Herod Agrippa, whom he had liberated from confinement. This prince held the sceptre for the space of seven years, that is to say, until the fourth year of the reign of Claudius, when "the angel of the Lord smote him," and his son Agrippa [II.] succeeded in the government, and reigned twenty-six years, until the extermination of the Jews. He, as well as Herod the tetrarch, was persuaded by Herodias to go to Rome, to conciliate the friendship of Caligula, but being there accused by Agrippa, he lost even his tetrarchate, and escaping by flight into Spain, with Herodias, died there of grief. Pilate, who had pronounced sentence of death on Christ, received so many affronts from Caligula, that he killed himself with his own hand. This emperor, to honour his gods, polluted the holy places of the Jews, by placing in them these impure idols.²

Claudius governed the empire thirteen years, eight months, and nineteen days. He himself, in the fourth year of his reign, during a dreadful famine, of which St. Luke

¹ In the month of September, A.D. 37, about six months before the death of Tiberius.

² He did not give Judea to Herod Agrippa, as our author states, according to Bede, but Batanea and the Trachonitis. Claudius, A.D. 41, added to them Judea and Samaria. The death of this king happened in 44. Agrippa II. never possessed Judea, but other territories, with the superintendence of the Temple, and the right of appointing the high-priest. It was in the year 39 that Herod Antipas, accused of entertaining a treasonable correspondence with the Parthians, was banished with Herodias to Lyons; from whence, it appears, they were subsequently removed to Spain. Pilate, according to a tradition, was sent to Vienne in Dauphiny, where he killed himself in a fit of despair, A.D. 40.

makes mention in the Acts of the Apostles, passed over into Britain, where no army had dared to land either before or after Julius Cæsar, and, without fighting any battles or shedding blood, within the space of a few days, received the proffered submission of the greater part of the island. He also added the Orkney Islands to the Roman empire, and returned to his capital, whence he had been absent altogether somewhat less than six months. In the ninth year of his government, he drove the rebellious Jews out of Rome, as we read in the Acts of St. Luke. In the following year a dire famine afflicted the Romans.¹

Nero filled the imperial throne for the space of thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days. In his second year, Festus succeeded Felix as procurator of Judea, and sent Paul in chains to Rome. Albinus succeeded Festus in the government of Judea, and was followed by Gessius Florus. The Jews were not long able to bear the dissolute manners, the avarice, and the other vices of Florus; for which reason they rebelled against the Romans. Vespasian was sent against them at the head of an army, and took several of their towns. Nero's greatest crime, and he committed many, was his having given the order for the first persecution of the Christians, the most distinguished leaders of whom he commanded to be put to death at Rome; St. Peter was crucified, and St. Paul fell by the sword. This emperor did not venture to undertake any wars, and was very near losing Britain; for during his government, two towns of great importance were captured and destroyed.²

¹ The conquests of the Romans in Britain commenced under A. Plautius, A.C. 43. The expedition of Claudius into England, where he remained only sixteen days, took place in the third year of his reign. There was, indeed, at the same period a famine at Rome; but the one our author speaks of, and of which St. Luke makes mention in the Acts of the Apostles (xi. 28), belongs to the next year. The conquest of the Orkneys did not happen under this prince, but under Vespasian. The expulsion of the Jews from Italy (Acts xviii. 2) must be referred to the year 49, and the second famine to the year 51.

² The expedition of Vespasian into Judea took place in the year 67. Festus had succeeded Felix in 60, and consequently not in the second, but in the sixth year of the reign of Nero.—St. Peter and St. Paul appear to have suffered martyrdom on the 29th of June, A.D. 66.—The Roman power in Britain was almost stationary under Aulus Didius and Varanius, the immediate successors of Ostorius; indeed, it is said that

Vespasian held the reins of government for the space of nine years, eleven months, and twenty-two days. He was in Judea when he was proclaimed emperor by the army, and, leaving the direction of the war to his son Titus, he returned to Rome by the way of Alexandria, and, after the murder of Vitellius, took possession of the throne. Titus, within the space of two years, overthrew the kingdom of Judea, and razed the temple to the ground one thousand and eighty-four years after its first erection. This war was terminated in four years; it was carried on for two years during the life of Nero, and was continued for two years after his death. Vespasian, among other great actions while he was yet a subject, signalized himself in Germany, and afterwards in Great Britain, whither he had been sent by Claudius, and where he fought thirty-two pitched battles with the enemy; he added to the Roman empire two powerful nations, twenty towns and the Isle of Wight on the coast of Britain. It was during his reign that the colossus [of Rhodes] was erected; its height was a hundred and seven feet.¹

The emperor Titus reigned two years and two months; a man whose character was so admirable on account of his being endowed with every virtue, that he was called the love and delight of mankind. He completed the amphitheatre at Rome, when five thousand animals were killed at the dedication.²

the Emperor Nero seriously entertained the thought of abandoning the island, but the next governor, Paulinus Suetonius (A.D. 59—61) revived the spirit of the Romans. He conquered the island of Mona, now Anglesey. Boadicea, widow of King Prasutagus, and queen of the Iceni, who were joined by the Trinobantes, rebelled against the Romans, laid waste with fire and sword the colony of Camalodunum (Colchester), and took London and Verulam by assault, massacring the inhabitants. The Britons, however, were afterwards defeated by Suetonius with tremendous loss, and Boadicea put an end to her existence by taking poison. This revolt took place A.D. 61.

¹ The Temple at Jerusalem was destroyed by fire, Aug. 10, A.D. 70, and consequently one thousand and seventy-two years after its first construction.—The colossal statue, executed by Zenodorus in marble, was erected in the year 75; it was 110 or 120 feet high (Pliny), and was originally intended to represent Nero, but having suffered in the fire which destroyed the Domus Aurea, or Golden House, it was repaired by Vespasian, and by him converted into a statue of the sun.

² A destructive fire and a dreadful plague happened at Rome, A.D. 79.

Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, governed the empire fifteen years and five months. He commenced the second persecution of the Christians, Nero's being the first, and shortly afterwards received his reward for thus fighting against God, being slain in the senate-house.¹

Nerva held the imperial sceptre one year, four months, and eight days. His first edict recalled all those who were banished. The apostle St. John regained his liberty by this general amnesty, and took advantage of it to return to Ephesus.²

Trajan filled the throne nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days. He began the third persecution of the Christians, and ordered the most eminent servants of God to be tortured to death. Pliny the younger, born at Como, lived during this reign; he is regarded as a great orator and historian: many of his works, proofs of his remarkable talent, are still extant. The Pantheon at Rome, built by Domitian, was destroyed by lightning; it was so named, because it was consecrated as the temple of all the gods. The Jews, who excited seditions in every part of the world, were slaughtered in great numbers, a punishment they deserved. This emperor extended far and wide the bounds of the Roman empire, which, since the time of Augustus, had been rather defended than added to by any remarkable conquest.³

Hadrian, cousin of Trajan, reigned twenty-one years. Being enlightened by the books written on the Christian religion by Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles and bishop of Athens, Aristides, an Athenian full of faith and wisdom,

The Flavian Amphitheatre, afterwards called the Colosseum, was completed and dedicated by Titus in the year 80. Not nine thousand, but (according to Dion. Cassius) five thousand animals were killed during the festival, which lasted a hundred days.

¹ Domitian persecuted the church A.D. 95, the year before his death.

² The persecution appears to have ceased before the death of Domitian. Nevertheless St. John did not return from banishment before Nerva recalled the exiles.

³ The third persecution took place A.D. 117. The measures taken to punish the Jews were begun the year before.—The first burning of the Pantheon happened A.D. 80, and the second A.D. 110.—Pliny the Younger (Caius Cæcilius Plinius Secundus) was born at Como about A.D. 52, and died about the year 102. The passage relating to him is borrowed from St. Jerome, who, as well as our author, appears to have confounded him with Pliny the Elder, his uncle.

and Serenus Granianus, proconsul [of Asia], he wrote a letter commanding that the Christians should not be condemned unless accusations were preferred against them. This emperor subdued a second time and finally, with great slaughter, the Jews who had again rebelled; he even deprived them of the permission to enter Jerusalem, which he carefully rebuilt, and surrounded with walls; commanding that it should be called *Ælia*, after his own name. Being perfect master both of Greek and Latin, he founded at Athens a library of admirable architecture. Mark was the first gentile bishop of Jerusalem; those who preceded him having been all Jews. Their names were: James the brother of our Lord, Simeon the son of Cleophas, Justus, Zaccheus, Tobias, Sixtus (Benjamin), John, Matthias, Philip, Seneca, another Justus, Levi, Effrem, Joseph, and Judas. These bishops, fifteen in number, who were of the circumcision, governed the Christian church at Jerusalem, from the time of our Lord's passion until the reign of *Ælius Hadrian*, a space of nearly one hundred and seven years; rendering themselves illustrious by their sanctity, their faith, and their learning. Their successors of gentile origin, were Mark, Cassianus, Publius, Maximus, Julian, Caius, another Julian, Capiton, Valens, Dolician, Narcissus, Alexander, Mazabanes, Hymenæas, Zabdas, Hermon, Macharius, another Maximus, Cyrill, and John.¹

Antoninus, surnamed Pius, with his two sons, by adoption, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius (Verus), reigned twenty-two years and three months. Justin the philosopher presented to Antoninus a book he wrote in favour of the Christian religion, which induced the emperor to treat the Christians

¹ The initiation of the Emperor Hadrian into the mysteries of Eleusis in 126 had excited the persecution which induced St. Quadratus, bishop of Athens, St. Aristides, and Serenus Granianus, proconsul of Asia, to present to the emperor apologies for the Christian religion, which induced him to put an end to the persecution. Jerusalem was retaken, and reduced to ashes by Julius Severus in the month of August, 135. Its conversion into a Roman colony, under the name of *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, was already effected in 138, the period of the ordination of the patriarch Mark. Seven names are missing in the list which Ordericus gives of the successors of this bishop, to the commencement of the sixth century. The foundation of the library of Alexandria belongs to the early part of the year 135.

with kindness. Not long after, however, he lost his life for Christ's sake, during the persecution excited by Crescens the Cynic, in the time of Pope Pius I. Hermes wrote a book entitled, "The Pastor," which contains the precept of an angel, that Easter should be kept on the Lord's day. Polycarp, on his arrival at Rome, reclaimed from their heresy many who had been recently corrupted by the doctrines of Valentine and Cerdo.¹

Marcus Antoninus Verus, and his brother [by adoption] Lucius Aurelius Commodus, reigned nineteen years and two months. The government was now for the first time administered by them jointly, hitherto there having been sole emperors. They afterwards made war against the Parthians with distinguished courage and success. During the persecution of the Christians in Asia, Polycarp and Pionius suffered martyrdom. In Gaul, also, Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, and several other Christians gloriously shed their blood for Christ. Not long after, the plague, that avenger of crime, depopulated many provinces of the Roman empire, above all Italy, and Rome itself. On the demise of his brother Commodus, Antoninus took his own son Commodus as his colleague in the government. Melito, bishop of Sardis, in Asia, wrote an apology for the Christians, addressed to the emperor Antoninus. Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, soliciting

¹ Justin Martyr, born A.D. 103, at Neapolis (Sicham), drew up his first Apology about the year 140. Crescens, a philosopher, caused him to be apprehended with six of his companions, when they were all beheaded in 167, in the pontificate of Anicetus, and not during that of Pius I., who died ten years before (July 11, 157); consequently he does not belong to this reign, but to that of Marcus Aurelius. St. Hermas, and not Hermes, the father of Pius I., wrote the book called "The Pastor," translated into English by Archbishop Wake in 1710. Many are of opinion that he was the disciple of St. Paul, of whom mention is made in Romans xvi. 14. The book does not contain anything relative to the time of celebrating Easter. Polycarp, a disciple of St. John, who is supposed to be the "angel of the church of Smyrna" (Rev. ii. 8), undertook a journey to Rome in 158, to confer with Pope Anicetus on this subject. He was burnt at the stake, A.D. 167. The heretical opinions of Valentine and Cerdon had been condemned several years before.

This passage, like most of those which precede and follow it, is borrowed literally from Bede.

admission into the Christian church. Apollinaris of Hierapolis in Asia, and Dionysius of Corinth, are ranked amongst the most illustrious bishops of this age.¹

After the death of his father, Lucius Antoninus Commodus reigned thirteen years. He was successful in his war with the Germans. In all other respects he did not inherit his father's virtues, being addicted to every species of debauchery. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons at this time, had gained great celebrity. The emperor Commodus having ordered the head of the Colossus to be taken off, replaced it by one taken from his own statue.²

Helvius Pertinax reigned only six months; he was assassinated by Didius Julian, who, after a reign of only seven months, was vanquished and killed, during the civil war, by Severus, near the Milvian bridge. Victor, bishop of Rome, by a decree which was widely dispersed, ordered the feast of Easter to be celebrated, as his predecessor Eleutherius had done, on the Sunday between the 14th and the 21st day of March, which was then reckoned the first month of the year. Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, adopted this decree, and in conjunction with other bishops, present at a council, wrote a synodical and valuable epistle, against those who persisted in cele-

¹ Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, born at Rome, A.D. 121, married Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius, and died of a pestilential disease in the fifty-ninth year of his age. By consulting the dates given before, it will be apparent that his reign lasted only nineteen years and ten days; Bede having reckoned nineteen years and one month. The war against the Parthians, begun in 161, was brought to a successful issue in 165. L. Verus, in the year 166, on his return from the East, carried the plague to Rome. Polycarp and Justin both suffered martyrdom in the same year (167), and Pothinus in 177. Our historian is in error as to Pionius, who was burnt in the persecution of Decius, A.D. 250. Commodus was raised to the dignity of Cæsar in the year 177. Melito, bishop of Sardis in Lydia, addressed his Apology for Christianity to Marcus Aurelius in the year 175; it was followed in 177 by another from the pen of Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, whose writings are all lost.—The demand of the British king, Lucius, to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, for a Christian missionary, must have been between the years 177 and 193, when that pope filled the see. Only a few fragments of the letters of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, have been preserved.

² The expedition against the Germans took place in September, 177. Irenæus was, indeed, contemporary with Commodus, but he did not suffer martyrdom before the year 202.

brating this festival like the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the March moon.¹

Severus Pertinax held the reins of government for seventeen years, firmly, but not without difficulty. He ordered a cruel persecution of the Christians. Clemens, a priest of the church of Alexandria, and Pantænus, a stoic philosopher, distinguished themselves by their theological discussions. Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, Theophilus of Cæsarea, Polycarp and Bacchiolus, Asiatic bishops, were also illustrious. In different parts of the empire, a great number of Christians received the crown of martyrdom. Clodius Albinus, who had assumed the title of Cæsar in Gaul, having been slain near Lyons, Severus transferred the war into Britain. In order to secure the conquered provinces from the incursions of the barbarians, he ordered a wide ditch to be dug, and a very strong wall to be raised; which was additionally fortified, at unequal distances, by a number of towers: these works very nearly extended from sea to sea, being about one hundred and thirty-two thousand paces long. This emperor died at York.²

¹ Our author seems, in imitation of Aurelius Victor, to have confounded Didius Julianus with his grandfather, the famous juriconsult, Salvius Julianus. However, Eutropius affirms that Didius also was well versed in jurisprudence. It was not Didius who was defeated by Septimius Severus near the Milvian Bridge, but Maxentius by Constantine, a century and a half afterwards. The truth is that Didius was beheaded, by order of the senate on receiving the news of the election of Septimius Severus, after a short reign of sixty-six days.—The Council of Cæsarea in Palestine, convoked for the discussion of the great question of those times, the proper day for the celebration of Easter, which so long disturbed the church, was held in the year 196, and consequently in the reign of Septimius Severus.

² The surname of Pertinax was given to Severus by the soldiers at the moment when they proclaimed him emperor. Bede asserts that he reigned eighteen years: this comes nearer to the truth than our author's number. The fifth persecution of the Christians began in 201 or 202, and continued until the death of this prince.—Clemens of Alexandria [Titus Flavius Clemens], one of the doctors of the church, was obliged to seek refuge in Cappadocia during the whole time it lasted. He died in 217, one year after Pantænus, whose disciple and successor he was, and who, as early as 179, was master of the famous school of Alexandria.—Narcissus, bishop or patriarch of Jerusalem, presided at the Council of Cæsarea, convoked by Bishop Theophilus in 196.—Instead of *Polycarp*, read *Polycrates*, bishop of Ephesus. Bacchyolus was not bishop of a see in Asia, but of Corinth. It appears that there is here an omission in the passage of St. Jerome

Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla, the son of Severus, reigned about seven years. Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, having gone to Jerusalem, drawn thither by his desire of visiting the holy places, during the lifetime of Narcissus, bishop of that city, who had attained a very great age, he was ordained to succeed him, the Lord having, by revelation, suggested this choice. Tertullian, an African, son of a proconsular centurion, is celebrated in all the churches.¹

Macrinus reigned one year, and was massacred near Archelaïs, during a mutiny of the soldiers, as well as his son Diadumenianus, who had assisted him in usurping the throne.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus reigned four years. The town of Nicopolis, in Palestine, before called Emmaüs, was founded during this recess; Julius Africanus, a writer of that day, having successfully promoted the building. Emmaüs is the place which our Lord vouchsafed to sanctify with his presence, after his resurrection, as we read in the gospel of St. Luke. Bishop Hippolytus, the author of many works, has brought down to this period the chronological canon which he composed. He tells us that, by finding the return of Easter to the same day, after the lapse of a certain number of years, he furnished Eusebius with the idea of his paschal cycle.²

transcribed both by Bede and Ordericus, and that we must restore it by inserting the words "bishop of Corinth," after Bacchylus.—The defeat of Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain, on the plains of Trévoux, took place the 19th of February, 197; the expedition of Septimius Severus into Great Britain in the year 208; the building of the great wall in 210; and the death of that prince on the 4th of February, 211. The wall was about eight feet thick, and twelve high to the base of the battlements. There were added, at unequal distances, a number of stations or towns, eighty-one castles, and three hundred and thirty castelets or turrets. The ditch was about thirty-six feet wide, and from twelve to fifteen deep.

¹ Narcissus died in 212, at the age of one hundred and six years. He was indeed succeeded by Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, who had assisted him for several years before his death. The illustrious Tertullian flourished during this period, as our author intimates. Born about A.D. 160, he died about 245.

² This prince, on being raised to the throne, changed his name of Elagabalus, taking those which our author here gives. He was murdered by his guards.—The establishment of the town of Nicopolis at Emmaüs, in consequence of the request made by Julius Africanus in the name of the inhabitants, took place in the year 221.—Hippolytus, a saint whom Gaul

Aurelius Alexander reigned thirteen years. His singular love for his mother Mammæa gained him the affection of every one. Urban, bishop of Rome, brought over to the Christian faith, and led to martyrdom, a great number of persons belonging to noble families. Origen of Alexandria gained so great a reputation throughout the world, that Mammæa, the mother of Alexander, wished to hear him, and having invited him to Antioch, loaded him with honours.¹

Maximinus reigned three years. He directed a violent persecution against the priests of the churches, the clergy, and doctors, the principal motive for which was the hatred he bore to the Christian family of Alexander, his predecessor, and his mother Mammæa; and more especially on account of Origen the priest.² Pontianus and Anterus, bishops of Rome, received the crown of martyrdom, and were interred in the cemetery of Callistus.³

Gordian reigned six years. Julius Africanus holds a conspicuous place among ecclesiastical writers. He relates in

appears to have a right to claim, and who was a disciple of Irenæus, suffered martyrdom about A.D. 240.—His canon begins, instead of ending, with 242, as our author asserts here. *L'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome i., may be consulted with respect to it and the other works of Hippolytus. Our author has misquoted Bede, and added to the obscurity of the passage, which runs thus: "*Qui etiam sedecennalem Paschæ circulum reperiens, Eusebio qui super eodem Pascha decennovalem circulum composuit, occasionem dedit.*"

¹ St. Urban became pope in 223, and died May 25, 230. It does not appear that he could have led to execution a great number of distinguished Christians, as there was no persecution under his pontificate; and we must even consider the violent death of his predecessor, St. Callistus, and some other Christians, as the fortuitous result of popular tumults. Nevertheless, the church venerates him as having himself suffered martyrdom, and having led to it St. Cecilia, and Valerian her betrothed, with Tibertius his brother; and Maximus, prefect of the imperial palace.—The interview between Julia Mammæa and Origen at Antioch, must have taken place in 218.

² This famous doctor of the church, born at Alexandria about 185, died in 253.

³ The sixth persecution began with the reign of Maximin in 235. St. Pontian, banished to the island of Sardinia, died there in the same year, after having governed the church for five years. St. Anterus, his successor, filled the see for the short space of one month and thirteen days. They were both buried in the cemetery of St. Callistus by the pious care of St. Fabian.

the Chronicles he wrote, that he hastened to Alexandria, attracted by the widely-spread reputation of Heraclea, of whom fame spoke as very learned in divinity, philosophy, and all the knowledge of the Greek school.¹

Philip, with his son of the same name, governed the empire for the space of seven years. He was the first emperor who embraced Christianity, after having lent an attentive ear to the exhortations of that faithful soldier of Christ, Pontius. The third year of his reign witnessed the completion of the year one thousand from the foundation of Rome. The doors of the pagan temples having been closed, the holy church freely opened hers with joy for the celebration of God's praise; and this year, more august than any that had preceded it, was kept with magnificent games by a Christian emperor. Origen, son of the martyr Leonidas, instructed in the divine philosophy of Christianity, at Cæsarea of Palestine, two young brothers, Theodore surnamed Gregory, and Athenodore, who afterwards became illustrious bishops of Pontus. His reply to a certain Celsus, an epicurean philosopher, who had written against us, filled eight volumes. In short, such was his diligence in writing, that St. Jerome says somewhere that he had read five thousand books of which Origen was the author.²

Decius reigned one year and three months. Having put

¹ Gordianus Pius, whose reign is here confounded with that of his predecessors, the Gordians of Africa, Maximus and Balbinus, reigned in reality but five years and about eight months, having been assassinated in the east at the instigation of Philip. It was before this reign, and about A.D. 231, that Julius Africanus went to Alexandria to take lessons of Heraclea, who at that time had succeeded Origen in the functions of catechist, and afterwards became patriarch of that church.

² The acts, evidently apocryphal, of St. Pontius, may be seen in the *Miscellanea* of Baluze. He appears to be quite an imaginary personage; and indeed Bede has not mentioned his name. We do not read anywhere that Philip ordered the temple to be closed, nor that the secular games by which he celebrated, in 247, the year 1000 of Rome, had a Christian character. It is true that a few temples and idols were destroyed at Neocesarea, in Pontus, but this was an entirely local act, brought about by the zeal of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, one of the pupils of Origen mentioned here. It does not appear why our author asserts that this orator of the church gave lessons during this reign, which Bede more suitably places under Gordian the Pious. Origen died, as already stated, in 253; and his treatise against Celsus, being the last of his writings, might very well have been composed in the time of Philip.

to death the two Philips, father and son, he carried the hatred he bore them so far as to order the Christians to be persecuted; pope Fabian then received the crown of martyrdom, and left the episcopal see to Cornelius. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, also received the martyr's crown at Cæsarea in Palestine, and Babylas at Antioch.¹

Gallus, with his son Volusian, reigned two years and four months. Dionysius, a priest of Alexandria, relates that the commencement of the reign of this prince was most prosperous, and that everything succeeded according to his mind, but that, having persecuted the holy men who offered up prayers to the supreme God for the tranquillity of the empire, his own peace and prosperity vanished. Origen died before he had quite completed his seventieth year, and was buried in the city of Tyre. At the request of Lucina, a Roman matron, the pope, Cornelius, raised from the catacombs, during the night, the bodies of the two apostles, which had been deposited there, and interred that of St. Paul on the road to Ostia, where he had been beheaded, and that of St. Peter near the spot which had witnessed his crucifixion; among the bodies of the holy bishops, where formerly stood the temple of Apollo, on the Vatican Mount, and Nero built a palace. The bodies were translated on the third of the calends of July,² (the 29th of June).

¹ The seventh persecution, which took place under this prince, in which a great number of martyrs perished, began A.D. 250. St. Fabian, the pope, was one of the first victims, as well as St. Babylas and St. Alexander. St. Cornelius, who was not elected until after a vacancy of six months (June 4, 251), suffered martyrdom under Gallus, in 252.

² We are not aware that St. Cornelius effected the two removals here attributed to him. It was he himself who was buried by Lucina in a crypt near the cemetery of St. Callistus. On the pretended removals mentioned in this paragraph, *Baronius* may be consulted, under the year 221. There are few questions more obscure and perplexed than those of the interments and translations of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul. If we believe St. Gregory the Great, the corpses of these two princes of the apostles were, immediately after their execution, taken away by those among their disciples who were Greeks and who wished to carry them away to their own country, but re-taken, when at a distance of two miles from Rome by the Latin Christians, who placed them provisionally in the catacombs situated near the spot; later they were deposited, one in the Vatican, the other in the church of St. Paul *extra muros*; then Pope St. Xystus, transferred them once more to the catacombs on the 29th of June, 258. In the days of Liberius (354—366), the relics of St. Paul

Valerian and his son Gallienus reigned fifteen years. Having raised a persecution against the Christians, Valerian was soon afterwards taken prisoner by Sapor, king of the Persians, and being deprived of his sight, wore out his days to old age a wretched captive. Gallienus, terrified at such a manifest judgment of God, gave orders that the Christians should not be molested. Nevertheless, either as a punishment for his own licentiousness, or for his father's hostility to God, the incursions of the barbarians caused the greatest calamities throughout the Roman empire. During this persecution, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, whose very learned works are still extant, suffered martyrdom. Pontius, one of his deacons, has left us an admirable volume, describing his life and death, having suffered exile with him up to his last moments. Theodore Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, was eminently distinguished by the performance of miracles; he gave a proof of this power, when, by his prayers, he removed a mountain in order to have sufficient room for the foundations of a church which he intended to raise. Stephen and Sixtus, bishops of Rome, suffered martyrdom.¹

Claudius (II.) reigned one year and nine months. He vanquished the Goths, who, for fifteen years, had been ravaging Illyricum and Macedonia; for this service rendered to the state, the senate heaped honours on his memory; a golden shield was hung up in the senate-house, and a statue of the same metal erected in the Capitol. Marcion, a very eloquent priest of the church of Antioch, who taught rhetoric in that city, disputed with Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who held that Christ was of the nature common to man; his discourse, which was taken down in writing by the notaries, is still extant.²

had been already taken back to his church, but those of St. Peter still remained in the catacombs, whence they did not return to the Vatican until some time between the epoch of this pope and that of St. Jerome.

¹ Valerian was made prisoner A.D. 260, while the eighth persecution began as early as 256. St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was beheaded in September, 258; St. Stephen, pope, August 2, 257; and St. Sixtus, his successor, August 6, 258. Our author here again calls St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theodore Gregory.

² M. Aurelius Claudius, surnamed Gothicus, descended from an obscure family in Illyria, upon the death of Gallienus, was proclaimed his successor.

Aurelian governed the Roman empire for five years and six months. Having excited a persecution against us, a thunderbolt fell before him to the great consternation of all present; and not long after this he was massacred by the soldiers half way on the road leading from Constantinople to Heraclea. Eutychian, the pope, was martyred at Rome, and interred in the cemetery of Callistus, where he had buried three hundred and thirteen martyrs with his own hands.¹

Tacitus reigned six months. Having lost his life in Pontus, Florian seized the empire which he held eighty-eight days, and was killed at Tarsus. Anatolius, a native of Alexandria, and bishop of Laodicea, in Syria, well versed in all the learning of the philosophers, is highly spoken of; we may judge of his genius by his work on Easter, and his ten books on arithmetic. About this time the insane heresy of the Manicheans and Sabellians commenced.²

Probus, during his reign of six years and four months, completely delivered Gaul from the barbarians, who for a long time had occupied that country, but whom he routed in many bloody battles. Archelaus, bishop of Mesopotamia, composed, in the Syrian language, a book on his con-

He defeated the Goths, who had crossed over into Greece with an army of 32,000 men, in the years 269 and 270, nearly destroying their vast force; a pestilence carried him off at Sirmium. The statue erected in honour of Claudius in the Capitol, by the senate, was ten feet high.—The refutation of the errors of Paul of Samosata by Marcion took place in the third council of Antioch, over which Hymeneus, patriarch of Jerusalem, presided at the commencement of the year 270. The acts of this public disputation no longer exist.

¹ This persecution was the ninth, and happened not before but after the fall of the thunderbolt mentioned by our author. St. Eutychian did not suffer martyrdom, and he died as late as December, 283. He is said to have interred as many as three hundred and forty-two martyrs with his own hands.

² Marcus Claudius Tacitus, a Roman, was elected emperor by the senate after the death of Aurelian, when in his seventieth year. During a short reign of about six months he not only repelled the barbarians who had invaded the territories of Rome in Asia, but he prepared to make war against the Persians and Scythians. He died in Cilicia, during the expedition, of a violent distemper, or, according to some, was assassinated, on the 13th of April, A.D. 276. Bishop Anatolius flourished about the year 270. The heresy of the Manichees began in 277; that of the Sabellians dates as far back as the year 250.

troversy with Manes of Persia; this work, translated into Greek, is in the hands of a great many readers.¹

Carus reigned, jointly with his sons Carinus and Numerianus, two years. Gaius, bishop of Rome, shone illustriously as the head of that church, but suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. Pierius, a priest of Alexandria, during the patriarchate of Theonas, instructed the people with the greatest success; his sermons and divers treatises, still extant, are written in so elegant a style, that he was called Origen the younger; a man surprisingly frugal, and affecting voluntary poverty; he spent the remainder of his days after the persecution at Rome.²

Diocletian reigned jointly with Heracleus Maximian twenty years. Carausius having assumed the purple, took possession of Britain.³ Narses, king of the Persians, invaded the east. The Quinquegentians infested Africa. Achilleus made himself master of Egypt. To face so many enemies, Diocletian admitted into the government the Cæsars Constantius and Galerius Maximian. The first married Theodora, the step-daughter of Heracleus, by whom he had six children, who were the brothers [and sisters] of Constantine. Galerius obtained the hand of Valeria, daughter of Diocletian. Ten years afterwards, Asclepiodotus, the prætorian prefect, recovered Britain.

In the nineteenth year of this reign, Diocletian in the east, and Heracleus Maximian in the west, ordered the churches to be plundered, and the Christians to be tormented and put to death. In the second year of this persecution, Diocletian laid down the purple in Nicomedia,

¹ The dispute between Archelaus and Manes took place in 277.

² Caius, or Gaius, elected pope September 17, 283, suffered martyrdom under Diocletian in 296. Theonas was patriarch of Alexandria from 282 until the 23rd of August, 300. What our author says of Pierius is quite true. He must have undertaken his voyage to Rome when the persecution had ended in 311. We are not informed of the date of his death.

³ Carausius, by birth either a Belgian or a Briton, it is not very certain which, was a bold and skilful naval commander; the legions and auxiliaries in Britain bestowed on him the imperial purple, A.D. 288, which he retained until the year 297, when he was murdered at York by Allectus, a Briton. The names he assumed were, Marcus, Aurelius, Valerius, Carausius. Narses invaded the east in 297. The Quinquegentians or Quinquegentanæ, committed their ravages in Africa during 292. The revolt of Achilleus belongs to the same date, and lasted more than five years.

and compelled his colleague Maximian, at the same time, to abdicate the government at Milan. However, this persecution, having once commenced, continued to rage until the seventh year of the reign of Constantine.

Constantius (Chlorus), a prince of a mild disposition, and of great affability, died at York, in Britain, in the sixteenth year of his reign. The persecution of the Christians was urged forward with such cruelty and fury, that in the course of a month they reckon eighteen thousand martyrs, who had suffered death for Christ. Having passed the limits of the ocean, it shed the precious blood of Alban, Aaron, Julius, and many other persons of both sexes, in Britain. Then also Pamphilus suffered martyrdom; he was the particular friend of Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, who himself has given, in three books, the history of the life of this holy priest.

In the third year of the persecution, Constantius quitted this world, and Maximinus and Severus received the title of Cæsar from Galerius Maximian;¹ this Maximian added to his many misdeeds and adulteries, the crime of persecuting the Christians.² At that time, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and several other bishops in Egypt, were put to death, as well as Lucian, a priest of Antioch, remarkable for his good morals, continence, and erudition; with many other servants of Christ.³

¹ Constantius Chlorus [to whom Britain fell in succession on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian] and Galerius were created Cæsars, and taken as colleagues in the government, March 1st, 292. The two marriages mentioned above were also celebrated in the same year. Constantius had three sons and three daughters by his wife Theodora. Asclepiodotus, an officer of Constantius Chlorus, recovered Britain in 300, having defeated and slain Allectus, who had reigned about three years.

² The tenth persecution against the Christians began on the 23rd of February, 303. The abdication of the two emperors took place May 1, 305. The edict that put an end to the persecution appeared in the spring of 311 (fifth year of Constantine). Constantius Chlorus died at York, July 25, 306, in the fifteenth year of his association to the empire as Cæsar. The number of martyrs who perished in one month is only 17,000 in Bede (*Ecclesiastical History*, i. c. 7). St. Pamphilus was put to death, Feb. 13, 309.

³ Maximin and Severus were raised to the rank of Cæsar on the 1st of May, 305, by Diocletian and Maximian, at the moment of their abdication. Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, suffered martyrdom, Nov. 25, 311, and St. Lucian, Jan. 7, 312, the persecution having recommenced almost

Constantine, the son of Constantius, by Helena his consort, was proclaimed emperor in Britain; he reigned thirty years and ten months. In the fourth year of the persecution, Maxentius,¹ son of Heraclius Maximian, was proclaimed Augustus at Rome, and Licinius, who had married Constantia, the sister of Constantine, was created emperor at Carnuntum. Constantine, after having been a persecutor, became a convert to Christianity, and endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to exalt the church of God.² The catholic faith was defined at the council of Nice. The emperor ordered a number of churches to be built for divine worship: he had one constructed at Rome, in honour of St. John the Baptist, in which he was baptized, which was called the church of Constantine, after the founder's name; another on the site of the temple of Apollo, dedicated to St. Peter; and a third on the road to Ostia, to St. Paul; he raised a chapel in the Sessorian palace, to which he gave the name of Jerusalem, and placed in it a fragment of our Saviour's cross. At the request of his daughter, he dedicated a church to St. Agnes the Martyr, and another to St. Lawrence the Martyr, on the road to Tibur, on the land of Veranus. He also built a church on the Lavican way, between two laurels, in honour of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Peter, and a mausoleum, where he laid the remains of his mother in a sarcophagus of porphyry. He, besides, ordered the construction of a church, to be dedicated to the memory of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and St. John the Baptist, near Ostia, the port of Rome. Churches

immediately with fresh fury in those countries which were under the dominion of Maximin.

¹ Maxentius seized the purple at Rome, Oct. 28, 306. Licinius obtained the title of Augustus, Nov. 11, 307, at Carnuntum in Pannonia, on the Danube, and not at Chartres (Carnutum), as Zozimas has asserted. He married, in 313, Constantia, sister to Constantine.

² Constantine was proclaimed emperor at York, 25th July, 306, and died 22nd May, 337. The council of Nice lasted from the 19th of June until the 25th of August, 325. The foundation of Helenopolis at Drespana in Bithynia, took place in 317, and the building of Constantinople began Nov. 26, 329. Constantine was baptized, not at Rome but in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, a few weeks before his death. This prince rather forbade sacrifices than closed the temples. His principal edict on this subject was made in 323. On the churches built by Constantine, consult the third volume of the *Vetera Monimenta* of Ciampini.

were also built to the memory of St. John in the towns of Albano and Naples. This same emperor rebuilt Drepana, a town in Bithynia, in honour of the martyr Lucian, who was buried there, and called it Helenopolis, after the name of his mother. But he founded in Thrace a town which was to bear his own name, and wished it to become the seat of the Roman government, and the capital of all the east. He also commanded that the pagan temples should be closed without further effusion of human blood.

Constantius [II.] with his brothers Constantine and Constans, reigned twenty-four years, five months, and thirteen days. James was acknowledged bishop of Nisibis, a town which was often delivered by his prayers from the perils that threatened it. The Arian heresy, upheld and protected by the emperor, at first caused the persecution of Athanasius, and afterwards of all the bishops who were not of that sect; who had to suffer banishment, imprisonment, and all kinds of punishment. Maximin, bishop of Treves, was one of the most illustrious prelates of that period; he sheltered with honour Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, when Constantine sought to punish him. Anthony, the monk, died in his hermitage, at the age of a hundred and five. Constantius, having returned to Rome, the Christians at Constantinople received the bones of Andrew the apostle, and of Luke the evangelist, with great exultation. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who had been sent an exile into Phrygia by the Arians, after having repaired to Constantinople to present his petition to Constantius, was allowed to return to Gaul.¹

¹ St. James, bishop of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, is said by his prayers to have saved three times this town from being taken by Sapor, in 338, 346, and 350. The banishment of St. Athanasius to Treves, took place in the year 335, and consequently in the reign of Constantine; the motive for it was a political denunciation by the partisans of Eusebius before this prince, and not a point of doctrine. St. Maximin, a native of Silé, in Poitou, bishop of Treves at the time when he received St. Athanasius, appears to have died, Sept. 12, 349, and St. Anthony on the 17th of January, 356. The removal of the relics of SS. Andrew and Luke to Constantinople was performed on the 3rd of March in the same year, before the journey of Constantius to Rome, which did not take place before the 28th of April, 357. St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers about 350, was banished to Phrygia in 356, presented his petition to Constantius, and returned to Poitiers in 360.

Julian reigned two years and eight months. He had been baptized, had taken holy orders, as far as the rank of deacon;¹ but having left the church, he adopted the profession of arms, made himself master of the empire, and returning to the worship of idols, became a persecutor of the Christians. Then the pagans took possession of the tomb of John the Baptist, at Sebaste, a town of Palestine, and scattered his bones about the country; they then collected them together again, and burned and dispersed them over a wider tract. But, by the providence of God, a few monks came from Jerusalem, and mixing with the crowd, who were collecting these remains, gathered up what they could, and carried them to their superior, Philip. Convinced that it would be beyond his power, with the means at his disposal, to preserve a treasure of such importance, he immediately sent them to Athanasius, the most illustrious bishop of that age, confiding them to the care of his deacon, Julian. The bishop, as soon as he had received them, enclosed these relics in a cavity which he caused to be made in the wall of the sanctuary, in the presence of only a few witnesses, and with a prophetic spirit dedicated them to future generations. What he foresaw was fulfilled under the emperor Theodosius by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who, having destroyed the tomb of Serapis, consecrated on that same spot a church to St. John.²

Jovian reigned eight months. Meletius and his adherents called together a council at Antioch, which condemned the doctrine of Macedonius, who blasphemed the Holy Ghost.³ The emperor, having concluded with the Persians a truce for twenty-nine years, re-entered the territory of the Roman empire. Warned by the fall of his predecessor Constantius, he wrote to Athanasius the most respectful and kind letters,

¹ Julian never was a deacon, an addition of our author to the text of Bede, but only a reader, a lower order in the church. He was proclaimed emperor by the army in the spring of 360.

² The destruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and the erection of a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist on its site, took place A.D. 339.

³ The council of Antioch here mentioned, was held in the month of October, 363; and in the course of the same month, St. Athanasius met the emperor in the same city. He did not die in Cilicia, but in Bithynia, on the borders of Galatia, in the night of the 16th or 17th of February, 364.

and received from him the orthodox creed, and rules for the better government of the churches. Unfortunately, a premature death, which carried him off in Cilicia, did not allow his pious and happy principles to bear fruit.

Valentinian reigned jointly with his brother Valens eleven years. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, wrote several works favourable to our doctrines, but having afterwards swerved from the faith, he founded the heresy which bears his name. Damasus, bishop of Rome, built a church near the theatre, in honour of St. Lawrence, and another over the catacombs, where lay the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul; and decorated the pavement which covered them with inscriptions in verse. Valens, after being baptized by Eudoxius, an Arian bishop, persecuted the orthodox. Gratian, son of Valentinian, was raised to the imperial dignity at Amiens, in the third year of his father's reign. At Constantinople a church was dedicated to the apostles who had suffered martyrdom. Auxentius at length dying, Ambrose was raised to the bishopric of Milan, and by his preaching, converted to the faith of Christ the whole of Cisalpine Gaul.¹

Valens reigned four years with Gratian and Valentinian, the sons of his brother Valentinian. Valens, having made a decree that monks should be subject to military service, ordered all those who refused to be beaten to death. The Huns, who up to that time [A.D. 375] had been confined to their inaccessible mountains, driven by a sudden fit of rage, fell with fury upon the Goths, who, being attacked in different quarters, were expelled from their ancient seats [A.D. 376]. Having passed the Danube, the Goths were received in their flight by Valens, who did not require them to lay down their arms; but soon afterwards, experiencing

¹ The errors of Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, already censured several times since the year 362, were definitively condemned in the œcumenical council of Constantinople in 381. He died soon after. Damasus filled the holy see from the autumn of 366 until the 2nd of December, 384. The emperor Valens was baptized by Eudoxius at the commencement of 367, and Gratian received from his father Valentinian the title of Augustus at Amiens, on the 24th of August in the same year. The church of the Apostles at Constantinople was consecrated in 370. Auxentius, an Arian, usurped the see for almost twenty years. St. Ambrose was raised to the episcopal dignity in 374.

all the horrors of a famine, through the avarice of Maximus, the Roman general, they were compelled to take up arms against the Romans, and having defeated the emperor's troops, they overran Thrace, plundering and destroying everything with fire and sword.

After the death of Valens, Gratian and his brother Valentinian [II.] reigned six years.¹ Theodosius, created by Gratian emperor [of the east], vanquished in many great battles those powerful nations which had emigrated from Scythia, that is to say, the Alans, Huns, and Goths. The Arians, displeased at seeing the harmony that existed between these two princes, at last gave up the churches which they had retained possession of by violence during forty years. A council of one hundred and fifty fathers assembled at Constantinople under Damasus, bishop of Rome, against Macedonius.² Theodosius took his son Arcadius as his colleague in the empire. In the second year of the reign of Gratian, when he, as well as Theodosius, was consul for the sixth time,³ Theophilus compiled his Easter tables. Maximus, a valiant and good man, and worthy of the title of Augustus, if, contrary to his oath, he had not aspired to the empire, was, almost against his will, proclaimed emperor by the army in Britain [A.D. 383]; he passed over into Gaul, where, near Lyons, he treasonably killed the emperor Gratian, whom he had drawn into a snare, and drove his brother Valentinian out of Italy. He nevertheless justly suffered the punishment of being banished with his mother Justina, for both were infected with the impure heresy of Arius, and he had shamefully persecuted Ambrose, the glorious bulwark of the catholic faith, and did not desist from his impious projects until the relics of the blessed

¹ Gratian was named Augustus as early as 367, as we have just observed, and he succeeded his father on the 17th of November, 375. Theodosius was raised by him to the empire of the east, January 19, 379.

² The Arians were compelled, by an imperial edict, dated Jan. 10, 381, to give up the churches to the catholics. Damasus did not preside over the council of Constantinople of the same year.

³ The paschal table of Theophilus the archdeacon, and afterwards patriarch of Alexandria, begins with the year 383, when Gratian and Theodosius were, it is true, consuls, but the first for the fifth and not the sixth time.

martyrs, Gervase and Protase, were discovered by a divine revelation.

Theodosius, who during the lifetime of Gratian had already governed the east for the space of six years, reigned eleven years after the death of the latter. He and Valentinian, whom he had kindly received at his court after his expulsion from Italy, caused the tyrant Maximus to be put to death, near the third milestone from Aquileia.¹ As this usurper had withdrawn from Britain nearly all the troops and all the youth capable of bearing arms, who followed his standard to Gaul but never again returned home, those barbarous nations beyond the straits, the Scots from the north-west, and the Picts from the north, seeing the island defenceless and deprived of its soldiers, crossed over and harassed it many years with ruin and plunder.² Jerome, the interpreter of sacred history, brought down the book he wrote on the illustrious men of the church to the fourteenth year of the reign of Theodosius.³

Arcadius, son of Theodosius, with his brother Honorius, reigned thirteen years. The bodies of the holy prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered in consequence of a divine revelation. The Goths attacked Italy [A.D. 400], while the Vandals and the Alans penetrated into Gaul [Dec. 31, A.D. 406]. Innocent, bishop of Rome, dedicated a church to the blessed martyrs, Gervase and Protase, built with the funds left in her will by an illustrious woman named Vestina. Then Alexis, a servant of Christ, quitted this world. Pelagius, a Briton, impugned divine grace.⁴

Honorius with Theodosius the younger, his brother's son,

¹ Maximus, after being defeated several times by the two emperors in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, was taken prisoner in that town, and put to death by the soldiers on the 26th of August, 388.

² Our author, with Bede, whom he always follows, places these incursions of the Scots and Picts too soon. They did not take place until after the revolt and expedition of the usurper Constantine, in the year 407, as indeed Bede himself informs us, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 12.

³ St. Jerome composed this work in 392.

⁴ The remains of the prophets here mentioned were discovered during the last years of the reign of Theodosius. Innocent I. filled the holy see from 402 until the 12th of March, 417; under his pontificate, about the year 404, the Pelagian heresy began to spread itself, and the very suspicious legend of Alexis is placed.

reigned sixteen years. Alaric, king of the Goths, took possession of Rome, and set fire to it, on the 9th of the calends of September [24th of August], A.U.C. 1164, quitting it and carrying off an immense booty, six-days after he entered it.¹

Lucian, the priest, to whom God, in the seventh year of the reign of Honorius, revealed the spot where lay the tombs that enclosed the remains of St. Stephen, the first martyr, and of Gamaliel and Nicodemus, of whom we read in the Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, wrote this revelation in Greek, and addressed it to the heads of all the churches. Avitus, a priest of Spanish extraction, translated this work into Latin, and adding an epistle to it, gave it to the western world through the instrumentality of the priest Orosius. This same Orosius, who, on his arrival at the holy places, where Augustine had sent him to learn what was good for his soul, received the relics of St. Stephen, and returning to his own country, was the first to carry them into the west.²

The Britons, no longer able to bear the exterminating inroads of the Scots and Picts, sent envoys to Rome imploring aid against these enemies, and offering to submit to the Roman government. A legion was immediately sent to their relief, which put to the sword an immense number of the barbarians, drove the rest beyond the frontiers of Britain, and, on the eve of returning home, advised their allies to raise a wall across the island, from sea to sea, to check the incursions of their enemies.

This rampart, constructed without regard to the rules of art, and in which more turf than stone was used, was of no service to those who built it; for as soon as the Romans had turned their backs, their old enemies re-appeared in their boats, and cut down, trampled under foot, and devoured, everything they could find, like a ripe field of corn. The

¹ Alaric took Rome, 24th of August, A.D. 409. Here our author returns, probably from inattention, to the chronological system of Dionysius the Little, which he had quitted when giving the date of the birth of Jesus Christ, as he refers this event to the year 1164 from the foundation of Rome, that is to say, 409 years after 754, and not 752.

² The relics of St. Stephen were discovered in 415, the year of Orosius's voyage to Palestine.

Britons again applied to the Romans for succour, who hastened to their assistance, defeated the barbarians, and drove them across the sea; they then, with the assistance of the natives, raised between the towns which they had built in their alarm a wall, from sea to sea, not as before of loose earth, but of solid stones. On the southern shore of the straits also, as incursions were apprehended in that quarter, they erected at intervals watch-towers, commanding extensive views. The Romans then took leave of their allies, never to return again. Boniface, bishop of Rome, erected a chapel in the cemetery of St. Felicitas, and ornamented her tomb and that of St. Sylvanus. Jerome, the priest, died at the age of ninety-one, in the twelfth year of the reign of Honorius, the 2nd of the calends of October [30th of September].¹

After the death of Honorius, Theodosius the younger, son of Arcadius, reigned twenty-six years. Valentinian the younger, the son of Constantius, was created emperor at Ravenna; while his mother Placidia had received the title of Augusta some time before. Those fierce nations, the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, crossing over into Africa from Spain, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and polluted it by the impiety of the Arian heresy.² St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, an eminent doctor of the church, was saved from seeing the ruin of his city by being translated to the Lord during the third month of the siege it was then undergoing, on the fifth of the calends of September [28th of August], having lived seventy-six years, of which he had spent near forty as clerk or bishop. About the same time, the Vandals, after taking Carthage, passed over into Sicily, and completely devastated it. Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybea, mentions the captivity of its inhabitants in a letter which he wrote to Pope Leo concerning the period for the celebration of Easter.³

Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine the first bishop

¹ Boniface was pope from A.D. 418 to 422. St. Jerome, born about 342, died, Sept. 30, 420.

² The Vandals crossed over into Africa in May, 429. St. Augustine died on the 28th of August, 430. Carthage was captured in 438, and Sicily in 440.

³ Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybea (now Marsala), was himself taken prisoner, as he mentions in his letter to Pope Leo.

of the Scots who had been converted to the faith of Christ, was sent over in the eighth year of Theodosius. When the Roman army was withdrawn from Britain, the Scots and Picts, knowing that they would not return, re-appeared, and wrested from the natives the whole island from the north, as far as the wall. The guards of the rampart were quickly killed, taken prisoners, or put to flight, the wall itself was broken through, and the country on the other side of it savagely plundered. A letter full of grief and trouble was sent to Aëtius, who had the command of the Roman troops in the twenty-third year of the reign of Theodosius, and was now consul for the third time, imploring succour in vain. Meanwhile a dreadful and memorable famine afflicted the fugitives, and caused some of them to go over to the enemy, while the remainder, retiring to the mountains, caverns, and forests, made a desperate resistance, and inflicted great loss on the invaders. The Scots returned to their homes, intending shortly to renew their incursions; but the Picts retained possession of the extreme part of the island, which they now for the first time determined to inhabit. The famine, just spoken of, was followed by a great abundance of the fruits of the earth, with its natural consequences, extravagance and carelessness; a pestilence ensued, to which was shortly added a plague still worse, the arrival of the English, who were new enemies, in the country. The Britons in a general assembly under their king Vortigern, unanimously agreed to invite them over to assist in the defence of the country; but they soon discovered that the English were their oppressors instead of their defenders.

Sixtus, bishop of Rome, dedicated to St. Mary, the mother of our Lord, the building which the ancients called the church of Liberius. Eudisia, the wife of Theodosius, returned from Jerusalem, bringing with her the relics of the blessed St. Stephen, the first martyr, which were exposed to the veneration of the faithful in the church of St. Lawrence. Bleda and Attila, his brother, who governed several powerful nations, devastated Illyricum and Thrace.¹

¹ Palladius was sent into Scotland in 428, according to the Roman annalists. The abject prayer, entitled "The Groans of the Britons," was addressed to Aëtius in 446. The year following Vortigern invited the aid

Marcian and Valentinian reigned as joint emperors seven years. The Angles, or Saxons, who crossed over the sea in three long ships, now landed in Britain.¹ Their countrymen at home, hearing reports that their voyage had been prosperous, sent over a stronger force, which, combining with the former band, soon overcame the resistance of the enemy. They then turned their arms against their allies, and ravaged nearly the whole island from the east to the west with fire and sword, under pretence that the Britons had not sufficiently remunerated those who had fought for them.

John the Baptist revealed to two eastern monks, who had travelled as pilgrims to Jerusalem, the place where his head was concealed, near the palace which once belonged to King Herod; this head was afterwards carried to Emesa, in Phœnicia, where it received due honour.²

When the heresy of Pelagius disturbed the faith of the Britons, they implored assistance from the bishops of Gaul, and found defenders of the truth in Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, both confessors of the apostolic grace. These illustrious champions of our Lord strengthened the faith by the word of truth, as well as by signs and miracles; and the attack made on the Britons at this time by the combined forces of the Saxons and Picts, was by divine help defeated. For Germanus taking the command himself, put the hosts of the enemy to flight, not by the sound of the trumpet, but with shouts of "Hallelujah," the whole army raising their voices to heaven.³ After this, he went to Ravenna, where

of the Anglo-Saxons, who first came over A.D. 449. St. Sixtus III., more properly called St. Xystus (July 31, 432—Aug. 18, 440), probably rebuilt and decorated with the mosaics now existing, the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, founded by Liberius, one of his predecessors. The person here mentioned was Eudocia the empress, and not her daughter Eudoxia.

¹ The Anglo-Saxons landed in the Isle of Thanet. In 455, they began their attacks upon the Britons.

Marcianus I., son of an obscure but respectable man, was born either in Thrace or Illyricum, about A.D. 391; married the celebrated Pulcheria, widow of Theodosius II.; died in the midst of universal popularity after a reign of six years, on the 26th of June, 457, in his sixty-ninth year.

² The inhabitants of Emesa still believe that they possess the head of John the Baptist.

³ Both Bede and Ordericus fall into an anachronism in making the

he was received with the greatest respect by Valentinian and Placidia, and then departed in the Lord. His body was carried to Auxerre, with honourable attendance and working of miracles. The patrician Aëtius, the saviour of the western part of the empire, and once the terror of Attila himself, was put to death by Valentinian. With him fell the western empire, which was never restored.¹

About this time the kingdom of the Franks was founded. For Ferramund [Pharamond], the son of Francus, duke of Sens, during the reign of Theodosius the younger, son of Arcadius, and when Celestine was pope, was the first king of the Franks. He reigned five years; and on his demise, was succeeded by Clodion, whose reign lasted seven years.²

Then the devil appeared to the Jews in the island of Crete, in the form of Moses, and promised that he would conduct them dry-shod across the sea to the land of promise; but several lost their lives, and the remainder were converted to the Christian faith.

In the second year of Marcian and Valentinian, Merové, king of the Franks, died after a reign of thirteen years, and was succeeded by Childeric his son, who governed the Franks twenty-three years.³

Leo [I.] was emperor seventeen years. After the council of Chalcedon he addressed a circular letter to all the orthodox bishops throughout the world, requesting them to let him know their individual opinions respecting the decisions of that assembly. The answers he received from them all, on the true nature of the incarnation of Christ, agreed as if

Saxons parties in the war which resulted in the victory of Germanus, who arrived in Britain about the year 429, returned again in 446, accompanied by Severus, bishop of Treves, when he procured the banishment of the leaders of the Pelagians from the island. He died at Ravenna, July 31, 448, one year before the arrival of the Saxons in this country.

¹ In transcribing this passage from Bede, Ordericus forgot that the empire of the west had then been re-established more than three centuries.

² Seven or eight years are attributed to the reign of Pharamond. As for Clodion, a much better authenticated personage, he reigned twenty years (427—448).

³ The year 456 is commonly considered as the time of the death of Merové, which is here referred to the interval between Aug. 25, 451, and Aug. 24, 452. Childeric his son reigned about twenty-five years (456—481).

they were written at the same moment and dictated by the same person.¹

Theodoret, bishop of Cyra, which took its name from its founder Cyrus, king of the Persians, wrote a treatise on the true nature of the incarnation of our Saviour against Eutiches, and Disocorus, bishop of Alexandria, who denied the human nature of Christ. Besides this, he composed an Ecclesiastical History, from the end of the Chronicle of Eusebius, to his own time, that is to say, the reign of the Emperor Leo, during which he departed this life. Victorius, in obedience to the orders of Pope Hilary, composed his Paschal Canon, of five hundred and thirty-two years.²

Zeno reigned seventeen years. The body of the apostle Barnabas, and the Gospel of St. Matthew, copied by him, were discovered, by a revelation made by himself.³ Odoacer, king of the Goths, made himself master of Rome, which the kings of that nation held for some time.

On the death of Theodoric, son of Triarius, another Theodoric, surnamed Walamir, became king of the Goths. This prince ravaged both Macedonia and Thessaly, set on fire several quarters of the imperial city, and invaded and occupied Italy. Huneric, king of the Vandals, an Arian, banished or drove out more than three hundred and thirty-four Catholic bishops in Africa, closed their churches, and tortured the people in various ways, chopping off their hands and cutting out their tongues, but he could not prevent the Catholic faith from being openly confessed.⁴

¹ [A.D. 457—454.] The emperor Leo addressed his circular letters to the metropolitans A.D. 457, and received their answers in 458.

² Theodoret, born about A.D. 387, bishop of Cyra in 423, died about 458. His Ecclesiastical History is not brought down to the reign of Leo (A.D. 457), nor later than the year 429. Victorius composed his Paschal Canon in 457.

³ The tomb of St. Barnabas was discovered about the year 488, in the environs of Salamis. The Gospel of St. Matthew was written on the wood of the cypress tree. The emperor Zeno enriched it with gold ornaments, and deposited it in the chapel of his palace, where it was used every year, on Holy Thursday.

⁴ Odoacer, having become master of Rome, was proclaimed king of Italy on the 23rd of August, 476. Theodoric succeeded him in March, 493. The two Macedonias and Thessaly were devastated in the year 482; and the persecution of the Catholics by Huneric took place in 484.

Aurelius Ambrosius, a man of great moderation, the only one of Roman extraction who had the good fortune to escape the swords of the Saxons, when they had massacred his parents, who were next robed in the imperial purple, now led the Britons to battle against their conquerors who were defeated in turn. From that day victory declared itself, sometimes in favour of one party, sometimes of the other, until the moment came when a more powerful foreigner possessed the whole island, for a long period.¹

In the first year of the reign of Zeno, on the death of Childeric, his son Clovis began to reign in Gaul, and held the sceptre with a powerful hand for nineteen years.²

Anastasius governed the empire for the space of eighteen years. Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, ordered the Catholic churches to be closed, and banished two hundred and twenty bishops to Sardinia. Pope Symmachus, who either founded or repaired a great number of churches, ordered dwellings to be erected for the poor near the churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, and sent every year money and clothes to Sardinia and Africa, for the bishops who were banished. Anastasius, who, favouring the heresy of Eutyches, persecuted the Catholics, was killed by lightning from heaven.³

Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptized by St. Remi, archbishop of Rheims, in the fifteenth year of his reign, with three thousand of his nobles. He died four years afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Theodoric. On his death, Clotaire, his brother, reigned fifty-one years in France. At that time, Guildard and Flavius flourished in the see of Rouen; and Mamertus, archbishop of Vienne, appointed litanies, that is to say, rogations, before Ascension-day, on account of the destructive plague which afflicted the people.⁴

¹ A date cannot be assigned with certainty to the victory gained by the Britons, commanded by Aurelius Ambrosius, over the Anglo-Saxons.

² The reign of Zeno began in February, 474, and that of Clovis in 481. This prince reigned not nineteen, but about thirty years (481—511).

³ Thrasamond, king of the Vandals, ascended the throne Sept. 21, 496. It was in 504 or 505 that he banished two hundred and twenty-eight bishops to Sardinia. Pope Symmachus (Nov. 22, 498—July 19, 514) was a native of this island. It is doubtful whether Anastasius was killed by a thunderbolt.

⁴ Duchesne has corrected (?) the text by omitting the decimal in

Justin the elder reigned eight years.¹ Pope John, when visiting Constantinople, was met at the Golden Gate, by a great concourse of people, in whose presence he restored to sight a blind man, who implored relief. On his return, Theodoric ordered him to be arrested at Ravenna, and thrown into prison with his attendants, where he died. Theodoric was led to commit this crime from jealousy, because Justin, the defender of the Catholic faith, had received this prelate honourably. In the same year, he put to death Symmachus, patrician of Ravenna; but the next year he himself died suddenly in the same city, and was succeeded by his nephew Athalaric. Hilderic, king of the Vandals, ordered the bishops to be recalled from exile, and the churches to be repaired, after seventy-four years of heretical profanations. Benedict, the abbot, was illustrious for his virtues, which Pope St. Gregory has recorded in his book of Dialogues.²

Justinian, nephew of Justin by a sister of that prince, reigned twenty-eight years. The patrician Belisarius, sent into Africa by Justinian, subdued the Vandals. He retook Carthage after it had been ninety-six years in their hands, whom he defeated and expelled, taking their king Gelimer, whom he sent prisoner to Constantinople. The

counting the years of the reign of Clovis after his baptism, the MSS. having xiv. The French editor of Ordericus Vitalis has restored the original reading, as, though evidently faulty, it agrees with the total number of years assigned to the reign of Clovis in a preceding paragraph. On the death of Clovis, the kingdom of the Franks was divided between his four sons, and was not re-united by Clotaire until the successive deaths of his brothers and their heirs. Clotaire, therefore, dispossessed, not his brother Theodoric, but his grand-nephew Theodebald, of the kingdom of Metz. St. Godard and Flavius, or Filleul, were indeed contemporaries of this prince, but not St. Mamertus, as he died May 11, 475.

¹ July 10, 518—August 1, 527.

² Pope John I. died May 18, A.D. 526, at Ravenna, in the prison where Theodoric ordered him to be confined, on his return from Constantinople; Symmachus, on the 28th of May, 525 or 526, and Theodoric himself, on the 30th of August of this last year. The recall of the Catholic bishops into Africa by Hilderic appears to have taken place immediately after the accession of this prince to the throne, in May, 523. The number of years which our author gives here, as the duration of the persecution, is inexact, whether we reckon from the first period (A.D. 437), the second (A.D. 453), or the third (504 or 505). St. Benedict, born in 480, died on the 21st of May, 543.

body of St. Anthony the monk, found by a divine revelation, was conveyed to Alexandria, and buried in the church of St. John the Baptist. Dionysius the Little wrote on the paschal cycles, beginning with the year of the incarnation of our Lord. At the same time the code of Justinian was promulgated throughout the world. Victor, bishop of Capua, also composed a book concerning Easter, in which he refuted the errors of Victorius.¹

King Clotaire died at a great age, and the kingdom of the Franks was parted into four divisions; Paris fell to the lot of Charibert, Orleans to Guntran, Soissons to Chilperic, and Metz to Sigebert. But in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Justinian, King Sigebert was slain by the treachery of his brother Chilperic, with whom he was at war. His son Childebert, who was yet in his infancy, succeeded, under the guardianship of his mother Brunehaut, and reigned twenty-five years.²

Justin the Younger's reign lasted eleven years.³ The patrician Narses vanquished and killed Totila, the king of the Goths, in Italy. The Romans, for whom he had struggled bravely against the Goths, enviously accusing him before Justin and his wife Sophia of oppressing Italy, he retired to Naples in Campania, whence he wrote letters to the Lombards, to induce them to invade and take possession of Italy. Pope John finished and consecrated the church of SS. Philip and James, which his predecessor Pelagius had begun. Then the warlike Alboin, son of Audoin, king of the Lombards, passed from Pannonia into Italy, at the head of the Guinili, and, with the consent of the patrician Narses, subjected it to his dominion.⁴

¹ Belisarius put an end to the dominion of the Vandals in Africa, and took their king Gelimer captive, A.D. 534. The body of St. Anthony was brought to Alexandria about 530. The Justinian code was published three times, A.D. 529, 533, and 534. The edition we now possess is the last of these. Victor, bishop of Capua, composed his *Treatise on the Paschal Cycle* about 540 or 545.

² The thirty-sixth year of Justinian corresponds with 562—563, while Sigebert was assassinated in 575. Childebert, king of Austrasia, died in 596, in the twentieth year of his reign.

³ November 14, 565—October 1, 578.

⁴ The battle in which Totila was defeated and killed by the army of Narses, was fought in the month of June, 552. Narses retired to Naples in 567, but returned to Rome, and died in the same year. It is not true that

Tiberius Constantine reigned seven years.¹ Gregory, then apostolic nuncio at Constantinople, and afterwards bishop of Rome, composed his commentary on the book of Job, and, in the presence of Tiberius, convicted Eutychius, the bishop, of error in his belief in the resurrection. He proved this so clearly that the emperor was of opinion that the book Eutychius had written on the resurrection ought to be committed to the flames, having also refuted it himself by allegations derived from Catholic authorities. Eutychius taught that in the glory of the resurrection, our bodies will be impalpable, and more subtile than the winds and the air; an assertion which was contrary to these words of our Saviour: "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have."²

The nation of the Longobards, or Lombards, having in their train famine and mortality, overran the whole of Italy, and laid siege to the city of Rome. Alboin was then their king.

Maurice reigned twenty-one years. Hermenegild, son of Leuvigild, king of the Goths, having resolutely confessed the Catholic faith, was deprived by his father, who was an Arian, of all his honours, thrown into prison and chains, and at last beheaded, on the second night after Easter; and thus the king and martyr exchanged an earthly throne for the celestial kingdom. His brother Recared, who soon after succeeded his father, converted to the Catholic faith the whole nation of the Goths under his dominion, at the instance of Leander, bishop of Seville, who had also instructed Hermenegild.³

the Lombards invaded Italy at his instigation. This invasion took place in April, 568, and the taking of Milan on the 4th of September, 569. *Guinili* or *Winili* is the primitive name of the Lombards. Alboin, who led them into Italy, died June 28, 573. John III., who finished the church of SS. Philip and James, filled the pontifical chair for thirteen years (July 18, 560—July 13, 573).

¹ September 26, 578—August 4, 582.

² Luke xxiv. 49. Gregory the Great resided at Constantinople as apocriary of the Roman church, from 579 till 584; he was elected pope in 590; and died March 12th, 604. The discussion between him and Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, who retracted his error, took place in 582. In 593, he persuaded Agilulf, king of the Lombards, to raise the siege of Rome. Alboin had been then dead twenty years.

³ The martyrdom of Hermenegild, by order of his father Leuvigild, took place in 585 or 586, and the return of Recared to Catholicism in 587.

Maurice married the daughter of Tiberius Constantine, and was the first of the Greek emperors who ordered the Roman fasces to be carried before him. In the thirteenth year of the reign of Maurice, the thirteenth indiction, Gregory, bishop of the Roman church, and a very learned doctor, assembled a council of twenty-three bishops at the tomb of St. Peter the apostle, to make such decrees as the state of the church required. The same pope, having sent into Britain, Augustine, Mellitus, John, and several other monks who feared God, converted the English to Christianity. Ethelbert soon received the faith of Christ with the whole Kentish nation, his subjects, and the neighbouring provinces under his rule, conferring bishoprics, not only on Augustine, his own teacher, but also on other holy priests. The English nations to the north of the river Humber, under their kings Ella and Ethelfrid, had not yet heard the word of life. Gregory, writing to Augustine and the bishops of London and York, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Maurice, in the fourth indiction, sent them the pall, and gave them the title of metropolitans, and died four years afterwards.¹

Phocas reigned eight years.² This prince, at the request of Pope Boniface, decided that the Roman and apostolical see was the head of all the churches in Christendom, in order to put a stop to the pretensions of the church of Constantinople, which styled itself the first of all the Christian churches. The same emperor, at the instance of another pope Boniface, gave orders that the ancient temple called the Pantheon, after being cleansed from the pollutions of idolatry, should be converted into a church, dedicated to the blessed Mary, ever-virgin, and all the martyrs, so that the very place where of old they celebrated the worship, not of all the gods, but of all the demons, was from that day rendered sacred to the memory of all the saints. The Persians, still continuing a ruinous war against the republic, wrested from it many of the Roman provinces, and even Jerusalem, destroying the churches, profaning everything sacred, and

¹ Maurice [A.D. 582—602.] married Constantina, the eldest daughter of Tiberius II., and was murdered by Phocas in 602. The synod here mentioned is the third council of Rome, opened July 5, 595. The next year, Gregory sent the missionaries to England, where they arrived in 597.

² A.D. 602—610.

among the ornaments belonging to the holy places, or to individuals, they carried off the standard of our Saviour's cross.¹

Heraclius reigned thirty-one years.² Anastasius, a Persian monk, suffered a glorious martyrdom for Christ's sake. Although born in Persia, and instructed by his father, when a child, in the science of the Magi, yet as soon as he heard the name of Christ from the captive Christians, he presently turned to him with all his heart; and having quitted Persia, he went to Chalcedon and Hierapolis, seeking Christ everywhere, and lastly to Jerusalem. Here he received the grace of baptism, and entered the monastery of abbot Anastasius, situated at the distance of four miles from the city. Having there spent seven years, under the monastic rule, while on a pilgrimage to Cæsarea, in Palestine, he fell into the hands of the Persians, and after much suffering from Marzabanes, the judge, who caused him to be scourged, imprisoned, and bound in chains, he was at length sent into Persia to King Chosroes. This prince ordered him to be scourged three times at intervals, then suspended by one hand for three hours, and at last to be beheaded, with seventy other martyrs. Soon afterwards a certain demoniac, being clothed in the tunic of this saint, was healed. Meanwhile, the emperor Heraclius, coming suddenly at the head of an army, and defeating Chosroes and the Persians, recovered with triumph the captive Christians, and brought back to Jerusalem the wood of the holy cross. The relics of the blessed martyr Anastasius were conveyed at first to his monastery, but afterwards to Rome, where they are exposed to veneration in the convent of St. Paul the apostle (*ad aquas Salvias*).³

In the sixteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, in the

¹ What Boniface III. obtained from Phocas was an order that the patriarch of Constantinople should no longer take the title of œcumenical, which Pelagius II. and St. Gregory had already protested against in vain. The dedication of the Pantheon by Boniface IV. took place on the 13th of May, 610. The invasions of the Persians had commenced as early as 603; but the taking of Jerusalem and the carrying off of the true cross happened in 614, and consequently in the following reign.

² October 5, 610—February 11, 641.

³ Now *Sto. Paulo fuori muri*. The martyrdom of St. Athanasius took place on the 22nd of January, 628. This victory was gained by Heraclius over Chosroes towards the end of 627; but the captives and the relics were not restored before 628.

fifteenth indiction, Edwin, the excellent king of the English in Britain living to the north of the Humber, received, as well as his subjects, the word of salvation preached to them by bishop Paulinus, whom the venerable Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, had sent into those parts. In the eleventh year of his reign, and about 180 years after the arrival of the English in Britain, Paulinus was raised to the episcopal see of York. As an auspicious omen of the faith that was to come, and of the celestial kingdom, the king Edwin's temporal power had so increased, that (what no English king before him had ever achieved) he extended his dominion through every quarter of the island, whether possessed by the Saxons or the Britons. At that time Pope Honorius refuted an error which had arisen among the Scots, with regard to the observance of Easter, in a letter addressed to that nation; and John, the successor of Severinus, who followed Honorius, also wrote to the same people while he was pope elect, concerning Easter and the Pelagian heresy, which had again revived in their country.¹

After the deaths of Theodebert and Theoderic, Clotaire the Great, the son of Chilperic, flourished in France, of which he obtained the sole monarchy. On his death Dagobert, his son, succeeded him, and for twelve years held the reigns of government with a powerful hand. His son Clovis ascended the throne after him, and at his death bequeathed his dominions to his three sons, Clotaire, Theoderic, and Childeric. In the time of these kings, several holy men distinguished themselves in France by their virtues and miracles: Romanus and Ouen, Ansbert and Eloi, Evroult and Laumer, Maur and Columban, Philibert and Wandrille, with many others, powerful by their faith and preaching, and illustrious for their sanctity and miracles.²

¹ Edwin, king of Northumberland (617—633), was baptized by Paulinus on Easter-day, April 12, 627, and consequently in the seventeenth year of Heraclius, and not the sixteenth, one hundred and eighty years after Vortigern's calling in the Anglo-Saxons, but only one hundred and seventy-eight after their arrival in Britain. Honorius filled the apostolic see from the year 625, or 626, till the 12th of October, 638. John IV. must have written his letter to the Scots in 640.

² Theodebert II. died towards the close of 612, and Thierri, or Theoderic II. in 613. From that time Clotaire II. reigned alone until his death in

Heracleonas reigned two years with his mother Martina. Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, Sergius and Pyrrhus, bishops of Constantinople, renewed the heresy of the Acephali, by teaching the doctrine of one operation and one will in the divinity and humanity of Christ. Pyrrhus came from Africa to Rome, on a visit to Pope Theodore, and feigning a penitence which afterwards appeared to have been assumed, presented the pope, in the presence of the clergy and people, a writing under his hand, condemning all that he or his predecessors had written or done against the Catholic faith. Deceived by this step, the pope kindly received him as bishop of the imperial city. But, on his return to Constantinople, he re-asserted his former errors, upon which Pope Theodore convoked the priests and clergy in the church of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and sentenced him to excommunication.¹

Constantine, the brother of Heraclius, reigned six months.² Paul, the successor of Pyrrhus, not only troubled the Catholics by his strange doctrine, as his predecessors had done, but by open persecution. The apostolic nuncios, sent by the holy Roman church to correct him, were imprisoned, banished, or scourged; and he went so far as to strip and pull down the altar they had dedicated in the oratory of Placidia's palace, forbidding them to celebrate mass there.

628; if we except the time when Dagobert, his son, was taken as his colleague in the kingdom of Austrasia in 622. The latter reigned sixteen years in Austrasia and ten in Neustria and Burgundy. Clovis II. only began the nineteenth year of his reign (Jan. 19, 638—Sept. 656.) Childeric was his second and Theoderic III. his third son. The holy persons here mentioned died as follows: Maur (584), Laumer (590), Evroult (596), Columban (615), Romanus (638), Eloi (659), Wandrille (667), Ouen (683), Philibert (684), Ansbert (693 or 695).

¹ Heracleonas reigned only a few months, May 25—October, 641. Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, founded the Monothelite heresy in 626. It was adopted by his successor Pyrrhus, and by Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria. Pyrrhus abjured this heresy in 646, but returned to it in 648, at the instance of Constans II. It was definitively condemned, and the prelates who favoured it anathematized, by popes Theodore and Martin, in the councils of Rome (648) and of Lateran (649). Monothelism is not, as we might be led by the words of our author to believe, the complete reproduction of the more ancient heresy of the Acephali.

² Our author's chronology is here much confused. He not only follows Bede in placing Heraclius Constantine, who is here spoken of, after his younger brother, but makes him the brother instead of the son of Heraclius.

Like his predecessors, therefore, the sentence of deposition was justly pronounced against him by the apostolic see.¹

Constans [II.], the son of Constantine, reigned twenty-eight years. Deceived by Paul, as Heraclius his grandfather had been by Sergius, also bishop of the imperial city, he published an edict against the Catholic faith, defining that there were neither one nor two wills, or operations, in Christ, as if we were to believe that he had neither willed nor acted. Wherefore Pope Martin, having assembled at Rome a synod of one hundred and five bishops, excommunicated Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, the heretics just mentioned. The exarch Theodore, who was soon afterwards sent by the emperor, carried off Pope Martin from the Lateran, and conducted him to Constantinople. He was then banished to the Chersonesus, where he ended his days, and the lustre of his miracles still continues. The synod above-mentioned was held in the ninth year of the reign of Constans, in the month of October, in the eighth indiction. This emperor sent to Vitalian, recently elected pope, a book of the gospels, written in letters of gold, and ornamented all round the cover with diamonds of an extraordinary size, to be deposited in the church of St. Peter the apostle. A few years afterwards, that is, during the sixth indiction, the same emperor, on his visit to Rome, offered on the altar of St. Peter a pall of cloth of gold, and made his whole army enter the church, each soldier carrying a wax-candle. The following year, the sun was eclipsed on the 5th of the nones [3rd] of May, about ten o'clock in the day. Archbishop Theodore and Adrian, the abbot, a man equally learned, were sent by Vitalian into Britain, where they caused most of the English churches to bear the fruits of sound doctrine. Constans, after frequently subjecting the provinces to incredible ravages, was assassinated in a bath in the twelfth indiction; and not long after Vitalian, the pope, departed to the realms of bliss.²

¹ Paul II. was deposed in the council of the year 648; but, supported by the Emperor Constans II., he continued to fill the see, and persecuted the Catholics until his death, A.D. 654.

² Constans published his edict named the *Typus*, or *Formulary*, in 648. It was soon after condemned by the council of Lateran in 649. Pope St. Martin was carried off from the church of St. John Lateran, and

Constantine, the brother of Constans, the last emperor, reigned seventeen years.¹ The Saracens invaded Sicily, but soon afterwards returned to Alexandria, carrying off an immense booty. Pope Agatho, yielding to the prayer of the Emperor Constantine and his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, princes remarkable for their piety, sent legates to Constantinople, to restore union among the holy churches of God. Amongst these were John, then deacon of the Roman church, who became a bishop a short time afterwards. These legates were received with the greatest tokens of regard by Constantine, the august defender of the Catholic faith, and received orders to examine the true doctrine in an amicable conference, setting aside all philosophical disputations. They were supplied from the library of Constantinople with all the books of the ancient fathers of the church which they required. One hundred and fifty bishops assembled under the presidency of George, patriarch of the imperial city, and Macharius, patriarch of Antioch. Those who pretended that there was but one will and one operation in Christ, were convicted of running counter to numerous passages of the Catholic fathers. This debate ended, George was reclaimed; but Macharius with his followers, as well as his predecessors, Cyrus, Sergius, Honorius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, were anathematized; and Theophanius, a Sicilian abbot, was made bishop of Antioch instead of Macharius. So much favour was shown to these messengers of catholic unity that John, bishop of Oporto, one of them, was allowed to celebrate high mass before the emperor and the patriarch,

embarked for Constantinople on the 19th of June, 653. He was then banished to the Chersonesus, where he died, Sept. 16, 665, from the cruel treatment to which he was subjected. Our author, as well as Bede, while mentioning the offerings which the emperor made to Pope Vitalian I., when he visited Rome in July, 663, has omitted to speak of the depredations he committed during the twelve days he remained there. He carried them so far as even to strip the Pantheon of its bronze roof, though it was now converted into a Christian church. Constans went from Rome to Sicily, where he was murdered in a bath at Syracuse, on the 15th of July, 668. The eclipse of the sun here mentioned happened on the 1st of May, 664, at half past three in the evening, according to the astronomical calculations. Archbishop Theodore was sent into England, A.D. 668.

¹ A.D. 668—685. Constantine Pogonatus was not the son, but the brother of Constans. Our author was led into the error by copying Bede.

in the church of St. Sophia, on the Sunday after Easter, in Latin. This was the sixth œcumenical council, and it was held at Constantinople, and its acts written in the Greek language. It assembled in the time of Pope Agatho, in compliance with the request of the emperor then reigning, the most pious Constantine, in whose palace it met, and was attended by the legates of the holy see and one hundred and fifty bishops.¹

The first general council was held at Nice against Arius, in the time of Pope Julius, under the Emperor Constantine [I.]; when three hundred and eighteen bishops were present.

The second, consisting of one hundred and fifty fathers, assembled at Constantinople to condemn the doctrines of Macedonius and Eudoxius, in the time of Pope Damasus, and the Emperor Gratian, when Nectarius was ordained bishop of Constantinople.

The third council, of two hundred fathers, held its sittings at Ephesus, during the reign of Theodosius the Great, and in the popedom of Celestine, to oppose Nestorius, bishop of the imperial city.

The fourth council, that of Chalcedon, consisted of six hundred and thirty bishops under Pope Leo, in the days of the Emperor Marcian. Its censures were levelled against Eutyches, who was at the head of some most unprincipled monks.²

The fifth council, which also assembled at Constantinople, when Vigilius was pope and Justinian emperor, was directed against Theodore and all heretics.

The sixth œcumenical council has been just mentioned.

St. Etheldrida, who devoted herself to Christ in perpetual virginity, was daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, and first married to Tonbert, a very great man, chief of the

¹ Pope Agatho, consecrated in June, 678 (or 679), was represented by his legates at this council, which sat from the 7th of Nov. 680, until the 16th of Sept. 681. Amongst these legates we find John, who was afterwards pope under the name of John V. (June 10, 686—Aug. 7, 687). In this council the chiefs of the Monothelites, including Pope Honorius, were again condemned and anathematized, Macharius, patriarch of Alexandria, deposed, and George, patriarch of Constantinople, obliged to recant.

² The general opinion is, that there were only five hundred and twenty, or five hundred and twenty-six, bishops present at the œcumenical council of Chalcedon, while our two authors have raised the number to 630.

Southern Girvii, and afterwards to Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, with whom she lived twelve years undefiled by intercourse with her husband. She afterwards descended from the throne, and, taking the veil, became a mother of virgins and the pious nurse of holy women, choosing a site for the erection of a convent in a place called the Isle of Ely. Even her dead body recalled to mind her living merits, for it was found entire, as well as the shroud in which it was buried, sixteen years afterwards.¹

Justinian the younger, son of Constantine, reigned ten years. He concluded a truce with the Saracens for ten years, by sea and land. The province of Africa was reunited to the Roman empire, from which it had been wrested by the Saracens after they had captured and destroyed Carthage. The emperor, finding that Sergius, of happy memory, bishop of the Roman church, would not ratify and subscribe the acts of the heretical council, which he had convoked at Constantinople, sent Zacharias, the captain of his guards, with orders to convey him there; but the troops of Ravenna and the neighbourhood, opposed the cruel orders of the prince, and Zacharias was driven out of Rome, insulted and ill-used.

In the fourth year of the reign of Justinian, Pepin became mayor of the palace in France. Pope Sergius ordained that venerable man Wilbrord, surnamed Clement, bishop of the Frisians. An Englishman by birth, he quitted Britain to live amongst the barbarians, every day increasing the influence of the Christian faith and destroying the power of Satan. Justinian, deprived for his perfidy of the imperial dignity, retired, an exile, into Pontus, where he was hospitably entertained by the abbot Cyrus.²

¹ "For the history of the pious princess Etheldrida, who died in 679, and a description of the convent she founded at Ely, consult the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, lib. iv. c. 19; the second volume of the *Acta SS. Ord. Sancti Benedicti*, and the Bollandists on the 24th of June. The *australes Girvii* appear to be the inhabitants of the country situate on the right bank of the Tyne, in the county of Durham, in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, the birth-place of Bede, which then bore the name of *Girvum* or *Girvi*."—*Le Prévost*. "The Girvii inhabited the counties of Rutland, Northampton, with part of Lincolnshire, and had their own princes, depending on those of Mercia."—*Note to Bede's Hist., Bohn's edition*.

² 685—695. Sergius refusing in 692 to sign the acts of the council in

Leo reigned three years.¹ Pope Sergius, by a divine revelation, discovered in the sanctuary of the church of the blessed apostle Peter, a silver casket which had remained for a long while forgotten in a dark corner, and which enclosed a crucifix ornamented with precious stones. Having unfolded four coverings studded with gems of remarkable size, he perceived that there was inserted in the crucifix a portion of the wood of the life-giving cross of Christ. From that time it is yearly kissed and adored by the people on the anniversary of the exaltation of the cross, in the church of Constantine,² dedicated to our Saviour.

In Britain, the venerable Cuthbert, who from being a hermit, was raised to the bishopric of Lindisfarne,³ wrought a succession of miracles from infancy to old age, which have rendered his name illustrious. Eleven years after his interment, his body and the robes in which he was buried were found as perfect as at the hour of his death. Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons, abdicated in favour of Ina, and repaired to Rome, where he was baptized by Pope Sergius on Easter eve; and, while yet wearing his white garments, was seized with a disorder that caused his death, on the 12th of the calends of May [20th of April]. By order of the pope, who had given him at the baptismal font the name of Peter, he was buried in the church of the holy apostle whose name he had adopted, and the following epitaph was engraved on his tomb:—

“ High state and place, kindred, a royal crown,
The spoils of war, great triumphs and renown;

Trullo of the preceding year, Zacharias was sent to arrest him in 694. Africa was not re-taken from the Mohametans till 697, and was again lost the following year. The fourth year of Justinian II. corresponds with 688—689; but Pepin d’Heristal was raised to the dignity of “Maire du Palais” in 687. Wilbrord, the apostle of Friesland, died, according to Mabillon, in 740 or 741; but according to Dr. Smith in 745. Justinian II., after having his nose cut off, was banished to Cherson in the Crimea, in the autumn of 695, and was entertained at the monastery of Chora by Cyrus the abbot.

¹ For Leo, read Leontius.

² The church of Constantine is now called St. John Lateran.

³ St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, died Mar. 20, 687. Lindisfarne was the original seat of the present bishopric of Durham, transferred thither in 995.

Nobles, and cities walled to guard his state,
 His palaces and his familiar seat ;
 Whatever skill and valour made his own,
 And what his great forefathers handed down :
 Cedwall armipotent, by Heaven inspired,
 For love of heaven, left all, and here retired.
 Peter to see, and Peter's holy seat,
 The royal stranger turned his pilgrim feet ;
 Drew from the fount its purifying streams,
 And shared the radiance of celestial beams."

After more to the same purpose, the epitaph thus concludes :—

"From Britain's distant isle his vent'rous way,
 O'er lands, o'er seas, by toilsome journeyings lay,
 Rome to behold, her glorious temple see,
 And mystic offerings make on bended knee.
 White robed among the flock of Christ he shone,
 His flesh to earth, his soul to heaven is gone.
 Sure, wise was he to lay his sceptre down,
 And change an earthly for a heavenly crown." ¹

Tiberius reigned seven years. The synod of Aquileia, from its lack of knowledge in the faith, was reluctant to admit the fifth general council, until it had listened to the sound instructions of the holy pope, when it consented to receive it, as the other Christian churches had done. Gisulf, duke of the Lombards of Beneventum, ravaged Campania with fire and sword, and reduced a number of the inhabitants to captivity. As no human power could resist these violent attacks, Pope John [VI.], who had succeeded Sergius, sent priests, loaded with presents, who redeemed the captives and induced the enemy to retire. Another pope of the same name filled the apostolical chair immediately after him, and, among other remarkable works, erected a chapel dedicated to the holy mother of God—a building of great beauty, within the church of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles.²

Aribert [II.], king of the Lombards, restored to the holy see a number of farms in the Cottian Alps, which justly belonged to the apostolic see, but had been long before seized by the Lombards, ordering this donation to be

¹ The whole epitaph is given by Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, b. v. c. 7.

² John VI. filled the papal chair from Oct. 28, 701, till Jan. 9, 705. The chapel which John VII., his successor, erected, was called Sancta Maria ad Præsepe.

inscribed in letters of gold on a tablet, which was sent to Rome.¹

Justinian [II.] reigned six years with his son Tiberius. Having re-ascended the throne by the assistance of Terbellis, king of the Bulgarians, he condemned to death the patricians who had driven him out of his kingdom, as well as Leontius, who had usurped his sceptre, and Tiberius, his successor, who had detained the banished emperor in custody within the walls of the city, during the whole period of his reign. He ordered the patriarch Callinichus to be sent to Rome, after having his eyes put out, and bestowed his bishopric upon Cyrus, who was abbot in the Chersonesus, and who had entertained him during his exile. Having sent for Pope Constantine, he received and dismissed him with great honour, so much so that, on the Sunday before his departure, the emperor requested him to say mass in his presence, and received the sacrament at his hands. Prostrate on the ground, he besought the pope to intercede for the pardon of his sins; and he also renewed the privileges of the whole church. The troops which, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope, Justinian had sent into the Chersonesus to seize the person of Philippicus, banished there by his orders, suddenly took the part of Philippicus, and the whole army proclaimed him emperor. On his return to Constantinople, when near the twelfth milestone from the city, he joined battle with Justinian, who was defeated and killed, and Philippicus mounted the throne.²

Philippicus reigned eighteen months. This emperor ejected Cyrus from his bishopric, and ordered him to return to Pontus to resume, as abbot, the government of his monastery. He addressed to Pope Constantine a mis-sive so full of unsound doctrine, that, by the advice of the apostolic council, Constantine rejected it. In consequence, he ordered tables, inscribed with the acts of the six œcumenical councils, to be set up in the portico of the church of St. Peter, as Philippicus had commanded those which were in the imperial city to be removed. The Roman people,

¹ Baronius places this occurrence somewhere about the year 704.

² Pope Constantine went to Constantinople October 5th, 710, and returned to Rome on the 24th of October in the following year. Justinian was killed in December, 711.

also decreed that the name of the heretical emperor should no longer be used in public documents or on coins; and his effigy was not placed in the church, nor his name pronounced in the office of the mass.¹

Anastasius reigned three years. He ordered his prisoner Philippicus to be deprived of sight, but his life to be spared. This emperor wrote letters to Pope Constantine, and commissioned Scolasticus, patrician and exarch of Italy, to carry them to Rome. In these letters he showed himself a defender of the Catholic faith, and recognized the validity of the acts of the sixth holy council. Liutprand, king of the Lombards, admonished by the venerable pope, Gregory [II.], confirmed the donation of the land situate in the Cottian Alps, which Aribert had made and Liutprand had annulled. Wulfran, archbishop of Sens and a monk of Fontenelle, signalized himself by the many miracles he performed while preaching the word of God to the Frisians. Egbert, a holy man of the English nation, and an honour to the priesthood by his monastic life, while a pilgrim to his heavenly country, converted several provinces inhabited by the Scots to the canonical observance of the time for celebrating Easter, from which they had departed for many years. He preached among them in the year 717 of the incarnation of our Lord.²

Theodosius reigned one year.³ Elected emperor, he defeated Anastasius in a severe engagement near the town of Nice, and having received his oath of allegiance compelled him to become a clerk, and be ordained priest. As soon as he was seated upon the throne, being a Catholic, he replaced in its former situation the honoured tables containing the acts of

¹ We learn from this curious paragraph what sort of honours were still rendered at Rome to the emperors of Constantinople.—According to some historians, it was not the acts of the council, but the portraits of the bishops present at them, which were set up in the porches of the churches at Rome and Constantinople, but that would have formed a collection of more than 1500 pictures.

² Gregory II. filled the pontifical chair from the 19th of May, 715, to the 13th of February, 731. The Cottian Alps are now called the Alps of Mount Generara. St. Wulfran, bishop of Sens about 690, retired to Fontenelle (St. Uvandrille) in 719, and died there soon after. Bede (Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 23) informs us that St. Egbert was sent into Scotland in 716. He died there in 729. Anastasius reigned 713—716.

³ Theodosius, January, 716—March, 717.

the six holy synods, which Philippicus had ordered to be removed. The river Tiber overflowed its banks, and caused much damage in the city of Rome; its waters rose to a height of about eight feet in the Broad street (*viâ latâ*), and formed a wide torrent, extending from St. Peter's gate to the Milvian bridge. This inundation lasted seven days, until, the citizens having frequently made processions with litanies, the river returned at last to its channel on the eighth day. In those times, it was the custom of great numbers of the English, high and low, men and women, persons of rank and private individuals, inspired by the love of God, to leave Britain and repair to Rome.¹

Leo reigned nine years.² In the third year of his reign Charles Martel, son of Pépin, became mayor of the palace, and, the year following, defeated the tyrant Ragenfred at Vinci, and after this victory besieged him in Angers. The Saracens, investing Constantinople with an innumerable army, besieged the city for the space of three years, until the inhabitants, having raised their voices to heaven, their fervent prayers were heard, and the greatest part of the barbarians perished from hunger, cold, and pestilence; and the survivors, disheartened at the length of the siege, retired. On their return to their own country, the Saracens attacked the Bulgarians, a nation on the Danube, but sustaining another defeat, were forced to seek refuge on board their

¹ Our author only cursorily alludes to passages in Bede describing the strong tendency at this period among the Anglo-Saxon princes and others to withdraw from the troubles and revolutions then so prevalent, and seek the repose of a monastic life in the capital of the Christian world.

² Our author has servilely followed Bede in the computation of the years of the reign of Leo, without reflecting that the English historian, who died in 735, could not have seen the end of this emperor's reign. This number of nine years proves that Bede finished his treatise, "*On the Six Ages of the World*," about 726 or 727, and consequently four or five years before his "*Ecclesiastical History*" (731). The third year of Leo comprehends the time between the 25th of March, 719, and the 24th of March, 720; Charles Martel was named duke of Austrasia in 715, defeated Ragenfred before Vinci in Cambrai, and besieged Angers in 724. The siege of Constantinople only lasted one year (Aug. 15, 717—Aug. 15, 718). In the winter the earth was covered with ice and snow for one hundred and ten days. The Bulgarians attacked the Saracens at the time they were raising the siege. The tempest was so dreadful that it is said only five vessels out of the whole re-entered the ports of Syria.

ships. They had scarcely gained the offing, when a violent storm suddenly arose, and immense numbers either perished in the waves, or, their vessels being dashed to pieces on the shore, were massacred by the natives. King Liutprand, hearing that the Saracens had not contented themselves with ravaging Sardinia, but had even dared to defile the spot to which the remains of St. Augustine, profane bishop, had been formerly translated in order to protect them from the fury of the barbarians, and where they were reverently interred, sent to claim them; and having obtained them for a large sum of money, ordered them to be transferred to Pavia, where they were again buried with all the honours due to so great a father of the church.¹

CH. XXIV. *Continuation of the series of the emperors of Constantinople—Kings of the Franks—English kings—and emperors of Germany.*

UP to this point I have followed the chronography of the Englishman Bede, who has brought down his work to the year 734 of the incarnation of our Lord.² This Bede, a priest, and Paul, of Mount Cassino, both monks, and men of deep learning, among other useful works, have published in five books the history of their respective nations; they have clearly made known to us whence the Lombards and English came, and how the former subdued Italy, while the latter occupied Britain.³ Henceforth I shall be forced to make laborious researches through the writings of other fathers of the church, while I endeavour to bring my history of past events down to the present day, embittered by so many and such varied calamities, while two prelates have ambitiously contended during the last six years for the pontifical chair, and, since the demise of Henry I. king

¹ The translation of the relics of St. Augustine to the church of St. Peter in Pavia, in compliance with the order of King Liutprand, appears to have taken place in 722.

² As we have just seen, Bede did not bring down his work "On the Six Ages" further than 726, and his *Ecclesiastical History* later than 731; but there is a short continuation extending as far as A.D. 766, appended to the edition, of which the entries as far as A.D. 734 may perhaps have been written by Bede.

³ The History of the Lombards, by Paul the Deacon, is not divided into five, but six books.—*De Gestis Longobardorum libri vi.*

of England, Stephen of Blois, his nephew, and Geoffry of Anjou, his son-in-law, are contending for the crown and venting their fury, to the common loss, by having recourse to arms, as well as by threats.¹

Constantine, the son of Leo, reigned fifty-eight years.² Then Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, gloriously filled the sees of Paris and Bayeux, and governed the abbeys of Jumièges and Fontenelle. Carloman and Pepin become mayors of the palace, and Remi, their brother, having ejected Ragenfroi, obtains the archbishopric of Rouen. Constantine and Abdallah, the emir of the Saracens, are rivals in cruelty towards the orthodox followers of Christ. Constantine assembled at Constantinople a council of three hundred and thirty bishops.³

In the year 754 of our Lord's incarnation, Stephen, the pope, no longer able to bear the persecutions of Astolph, king of the Lombards, escaped to France and was honourably received by the inhabitants, but fell sick at Paris. As soon as he was convalescent, he consecrated an altar in the church of St. Denys, crowned Pepin and his two sons, Charles and Carloman; and committed the holy church to their protection against her enemies.⁴

¹ As our author has mentioned that six years had already elapsed since the commencement of the struggle between Innocent II. and the antipope Anacletus (February, 1130), we learn that this paragraph must have been written in 1136, the period when the succession to Henri I. was disputed with fury by Stephen of Blois, his nephew, and Geoffry of Anjou, his son-in-law, or rather by the empress, Geoffry's wife.

² Here our author, who had cut off fifteen years from the reign of the father (or rather some unskilful corrector, for the number has evidently been erased by a later hand in the manuscript of St. Evroult), gives as a compensation too many, by twenty-four, to that of the son.

³ Hugh, archbishop of Rouen before 722, bishop of Paris and Bayeux, abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges in 722, died at Jumièges on the 8th of April, 730. Carloman and Pepin inherited the power and the functions of their brother Charles Martel, in 741. Remi their brother, archbishop of Rouen in the room of Ragenfroi, in 755, died January 19, 772. The most severe persecutions directed by Constantine Copronymus against the Catholics took place in 754, 761, and 766. Among the Saracens they were persecuted by the caliph Almanzor and his lieutenant Selim, more than by his uncle Abdallah. Three hundred and thirty-eight bishops were present at the council convened by the emperor at Constantinople in 754.

⁴ Stephen II. left Rome Oct. 14, 753, arrived at Pontion (Marne) Jan. 6, 754, consecrated Pepin and his children on the 28th of July, and set out on his return before the end of the year.

Pepin, king of the French, after having held the reins of government with a strong hand for sixteen years, died on the eighth of the calends of October [24th September]. He left his crown to his son Charlemagne, who reigned forty-seven years, and whose conduct, both of secular and ecclesiastical affairs, was memorable. His virtues were great in the sight of God and man; so that numbers relate his acts with admiration, and celebrate them before attentive hearers. He marched to Rome at the head of an army of Franks, and, on his return, seized Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and made himself master of Pavia and other towns in Italy. He dismantled Pampeluna, took Saragossa sword in hand, annihilated, in the numerous battles he won, not only the Saxons but the Spaniards and Saracens, and humbled the infidel power by Christian valour, raising, in the name of Christ, the standard of the cross.¹

Leo, the son of Constantine, reigned five years.² Charlemagne went a second time to Rome, and, then overran with his army Capua and Apulia.³

Constantine reigned seventeen years jointly with his mother Irene. During his reign, an inhabitant of Constantinople discovered a stone chest, enclosing the body of a man, and bearing this inscription: "Christ will be born of the Virgin Mary, and I believe in him. When Constantine and Irene are emperors, the sun shall see me again." Charlemagne crossed Germany to the frontiers of Bavaria, which he conquered in three years. He then marched against a

¹ Pepin died on the 24th of September, 768, in the 27th year of his administration and the 17th of his reign. Charlemagne did not reign forty-seven years, but forty-five years and four months (Sept. 768—Jan. 28, 814). During his first expedition into Italy, he entered Rome on the 2nd of April, 774, and took Desiderius prisoner at Pavia in the month of May following. It was in 778 that he made himself master of Pampeluna, besieged Saragossa without taking it, and dismantled Pampeluna on his return. A different account of Charlemagne's expedition to Spain is given by the Arabian and some of the Latin historians. The Frank writers gloss over his severe losses in his retreat at Roncesvalles, rendered memorable by the death of Roland, the Orlando of Ariosto; and his previous successes appear to have been partial and transitory.

² Leo IV., September 14, 775—September 8 780. Constantius VI., September 8, 780—August 19, 797.

³ Charlemagne arrived at Rome in the winter of 788, occupied Capua at the commencement of the following spring, and returned to Rome to celebrate the feast of Easter.

tribe of the slaves called the Wiltzes, and in the following year ravaged Hungary.¹

In these times, Adrian [I.] and Leo [III.] governed the holy see forty-eight years, signalizing their pontificates by their great virtues and services to the church. Constantine and Leo, and another Constantine, were then emperors, as we have already stated.² From the time of Constantine the Great, the son of Helena, who founded Constantinople, until the reign of Constantine, the son of Irene, the emperor of Constantinople governed the Roman empire, and gave laws to Italy and many other nations speaking different languages. Several of these emperors were heretics, and were not raised to the throne by the lawful exercise of the rights of the people, nor legitimately elected by the people, but unjustly usurped it by cruel murders of their masters or their relations; nor were they able to defend one half of so vast an empire against the attacks of the barbarians, who were everywhere in arms against it. In consequence, Pope Leo, and an assembly of the senators and people of Rome, concerted measures for the safety of the state, and by unanimous resolve threw off the yoke of the emperors of Constantinople, and elected Charlemagne, the powerful king of the Franks, who had long protected them with great valour, to be emperor of Rome. Thus, in the fifth year of Pope Leo, which corresponds with the year 808 of the incarnation of our Lord, king Charlemagne became the eighty-third emperor from Augustus, and the Romans proclaimed him by that august name. He condemned to death the assailants of Pope Leo, by whom he had been consecrated; but at the pope's request he spared their lives, and only banished them to France.

¹ This pretended discovery happened in 781. The conquest of Bavaria belongs to the year 788. The invasion of the part of Sclavonia here mentioned, and situate on the right bank of the Oder, near its mouth, took place in 789, and the troops of Charlemagne overran Hungary as far as Raab in 792.

² Adrian I. occupied the pontifical chair from the 9th of February, 772, to the 25th of December, 795; and Leo III. from this last date until the 11th of June, 816; a period of forty-four years and some months, which nevertheless extends far beyond the reigns of the three emperors mentioned by our author, as it comprises those of Irene, Nicephorus, Maurice, Michael, Curopalates, and a part of that of Leo the Armenian.

About the same time, a great earthquake shook nearly the whole continent of Italy, and threw down the greater part of the roof and timber-work of the church of St. Paul the apostle.¹

Nicephorus I., brother of Irene, reigned six years. He made peace with Charlemagne, to whom Aaron also, the king of the Persians, sent ambassadors with presents to induce him to join in friendship with him.²

Michael, the son-in-law of Nicephorus, reigned three years. He sent ambassadors to the emperor Charlemagne to renew their alliance.

Leo, son of Bardas, reigned six years. Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle; and Louis the Pious, his son by Hildegard, daughter of Witikind, king of the Saxons, succeeded to the empire which he governed for twenty-seven years with spirit. During his reign a storm of troubles swept the world. Pascal, the hundredth pope from Peter, crowned Louis at Rome on Easter day.³

Theophilus reigned eleven years. Lothaire rebelled against his father Lewis, and disturbed the world by his repeated perfidies. The Normans now ravaged Britain and other countries, and the bodies of Samson, Philibert, and many other saints, were translated for fear of the pagans.⁴

¹ Charlemagne was crowned on the last day of the fifth year of the pontificate of Leo III., which corresponds with the year 800, and not 808, as our author states. The enemies of the pope to whom Ordericus here alludes, were Pascal and Campulus, officers of the Roman church, who, in a procession which took place in 799, fell upon him and cut out his tongue and put out his eyes. The earthquake happened during the night of the 30th of April, 801. The church of St. Paul here mentioned is that now called *Fuori muri*, outside the walls of Rome.

² Charlemagne received the ambassadors of the caliph (the famous Aaron-al-Raschid) in the spring of the year 801, between Verceill and Ivree, on his return to France from Rome, and those of Nicephorus in 803.

³ Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, January 28, 814. Louis le Debonaire (Jan. 28, 814—June 20, 840) was, it is true, the son of Hildegard, but this princess was not a daughter of Witikind. He had been consecrated at Rome on Easter day, 781, as king of Aquitaine, at the age of five years. It was his son Lothaire who was crowned by Pope Pascal I., on Easter-day, 923.

⁴ Theophilus, son of Michael II. The most serious revolts of Lothaire against his father took place in 830 and 833. The translation of the body

Michael, son of Theophilus, reigned twenty-seven years. In the second year of his reign, the Emperor Lewis died on the 12th of the calends of July [20th June]. He was buried by his brother Drogo, archbishop of Metz. Three years afterwards, that is to say, in the year of our Lord 842, the battle of Fontenay, near Auxerre, was fought, on the sixth of the calends of July [26th June], between his three sons, Lewis, Lothaire, and Charles the Bald, in which Christian nations destroyed each other with great slaughter on both sides. At last victory declared in favour of Charles. In the same year the Normans pillaged Rouen, and burned the abbey of St. Ouen, the bishop, on the ides [15th] of May.¹

Basil, after having put to death Michael, his sovereign and master, reigned twenty years. A dreadful famine and consequent mortality, with a murrain among cattle, caused great calamities throughout the world. On the death of King Lewis, Rollo penetrated into Neustria, and on the 15th of the calends of December [17th November], in the year of our Lord 876 entered Normandy, and carried on a war with the Franks, which lasted thirty-seven years, until he was baptized by Franco, archbishop of Rouen.²

of St. Samson from Dol to Orleans did not take place before 878. The relics of St. Philibert were carried from the island of Noirmoutier, at the mouth of the Loire, over to the continent in the month of June, 836, with the permission of Pepin, king of Aquitain, and deposited at the convent of Dée, near Nantz, as being more safe from the piratical incursions of the Danes; though the monastery of Noirmoutier had been strongly fortified, and the monks had spent the season of the year most favourable to such enterprises at Dée.

¹ Our author is not more fortunate than usual in his dates. Lewis le Debonaire died on the 20th of June, 840. The battle of Fontenai was fought on the 25th of June, 841, and in the month of May in the same year, the Normans made their first incursion in the valley of the Seine. They set fire to Rouen on the 14th, and perhaps, as here intimated, the flames did not reach the monastery of St. Ouen, in the suburbs, before the following day.

² Our author probably alludes to the plague and famine of 889. Lewis, king of Germany, died on the 28th of August, 876. The arrival of Rollo in France so early as 876, rests on the assertions of writers too remote from this epoch to be of any authority, and the chronicles which mention it are visibly interpolated; but it is true that the valley of the Seine was entered by the Normans in 876, though it does not appear that Rollo was with them.

Leo and Alexander, the sons of Basil, reigned twenty-two years. Charles the Fat was crowned emperor on the death of Arnold, king of Germany, and reigned ten years. In the year of our Lord 900, King Zwentibold killed the son of Arnold. At this time Rollo laid siege to Chartres; but Gualteln, the bishop, a holy man, issued forth carrying the tunic of St. Mary, mother of God, and with the assistance of Heaven, put the enemies to flight, and delivered the city. He had appealed for succour to Richard, duke of Burgundy, and Ebles, earl of Poitiers. The enemy being routed, the Christians rejoiced at the victory God had wrought.¹

Alexander [after the death of his brother] reigned one year. The Huns devastated Saxony and Thuringia [A.D. 908].

Constantine [Porphyrogenitus], son of Leo, reigned with Zoe, his mother, ten years. In the third year of his reign, Lewis [III.], son of Arnold, departed this life, and Conrad, the son of Conrad, became emperor, and reigned seven years.²

Romanus, the Armenian, reigned, jointly with Constantine before mentioned, twenty-seven years. In their time Rollo embraced Christianity, and concluded a peace with Charles, king of the Franks, receiving in marriage Gisela, his daughter.³ When Henry was emperor, king Charles died at Péronne, where he was imprisoned by Herbert, count of

¹ Charles the Bald died October 6, 877. Arnold became king of Germany, on the 11th of November, 887. He was crowned emperor in April, 896, and died on the 8th of December, 899.

It was Zwentibold himself that was killed, on the 13th of August, 900. The defeat of Rollo under the walls of Chartres, is the first authentic fact in which this chief of the Normans of the Seine makes his appearance, but it happened on the 20th of July, 911, and not in 900. The presence in this battle of the Earl of Poitiers, Ebles II., is only attested by writers of a later date. A more authentic fact is the part taken in it by Robert II., duke of France who afterwards contested the crown with Charles the Simple.

² Louis IV., king of Germany, son of Arnold, elected emperor on the 4th of February, 900, died on the 21st January, 912. Conrad, his successor, elected on the 19th of October in the same year, died December 23, 918, of the wounds he received in battle with the Hungarians.

³ The baptism of Rollo took place in 912. The French editor of Ordericus raises doubts as to this marriage, on the ground that it rests only on the authority of Norman historians.

Vermandois, and France was disturbed by great dissensions. Five years afterwards, Louis, the son of Charles, married Gerberga, the daughter of Henry, emperor of Germany.¹

Constantine [VII.] associated with himself Romanus, his son, while yet a boy, and reigned fifteen years. At the same period Otho, son of Henry, began his reign, which lasted thirty-six years; his wife was the sister of Athelstan, king of England.² In those days, William Long-sword defeated Ralph, count of Evreux, on the spot which was called Battle-mead, and was himself assassinated eight years afterwards, on the sixteenth of the calends of January (17th December), by Arnold, earl of Flanders. Richard I., the son of William Long-sword, succeeded his father, and governed his states with vigour fifty-four years, performing many great actions.³

Stephen and Constantine [VIII.], the sons of Romanus, expelled their father from the throne. But Constantine in turn deposed them both, and reigned sixteen years with his son Romanus. Edgar, son of Edmund, now governed the English, and was a bountiful patron to the servants of God, faithfully obeying his teachers in all that appertained to the edification of the church. In his reign Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald, archbishop of York, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, were illustrious for their sanctity and learning, governing the people committed to their charge with diligence and happy effects. They used such efforts to encourage the growth of religious insitutions that by their means twenty-six monasteries and nunneries were

¹ Henry the Fowler, elected in 919, died on the 2nd of July, 936, and Charles the Simple, taken prisoner by Herbert II., Count of Vermandois (923), died in his prison at Péronne, on the 9th of October, 929. The marriage of Louis IV., D'Outremer, with Gerberga, the daughter of Henry the Fowler, was solemnized in the year 939.

² Otho the Great, elected king of Germany in 936, died May 7, 973. He married, in 930, Edith, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and consequently sister to Athelstan.

³ It is difficult to assign a precise date to the victory gained by William Long-sword on the spot which has received from that event the name of *le Pré de la Bataille*. M. Le Prévôt, in his note on this paragraph, agrees with the Norman historians, that it happened in 933. William was murdered at Picquigni, on the 16th of December, 943. If, as is generally supposed, Richard I. died in 996, the number here stated is too many by two years.

founded in England. The ravages of the Danes, who some years before had martyred St. Edmund, king of the East-Angles, had spread desolation among Christ's flock throughout nearly the whole island of Britain, churches and monasteries being ruined, and the Lord's flock torn to pieces or dispersed as if they had been the prey of wolves.¹

Nicephorus was emperor ten years. It was a period of general disorder; ambitious nobles putting themselves at the head of their vassals in arms for mutual hostilities.²

After the death of Nicephorus, who was assassinated at the instigation of his own wife, John [Zimisce] ascended the throne, and his niece, Theophania, married the emperor Otho. He died in the fifth year of his reign, leaving the crown to his son Otho III., who reigned eighteen years.³ At this period, Hugh the Great and other French lords rebelled against Lewis, their king; the duke following the example of his father Robert, who revolted against Charles the Simple, and caused himself to be anointed king. Charles, the rightful sovereign, perceiving with what contempt he was treated by the perjured duke, did not allow a year to elapse before he attacked the rebel with troops assembled from all quarters, with which he fell upon and defeated and killed him at the battle of Soissons.⁴

In the month of May, on a Friday, a shower of blood fell upon the workmen in the fields. The same year [954], in the month of September, Lewis [d'Outremer] died, after

¹ The administration of Stephen and Constantine VIII. lasted only from the 20th of December, 944, until the 27th of January, 945. Edgar began his reign in 959, and died July 8, 975. St. Dunstan filled his see from 961 to May, 988; St. Oswald, 972—February 29, 992; St. Ethelwold or Athelwold, 963—984. St. Edmund suffered martyrdom in the preceding century (Nov. 20, 870).

² In an age so fruitful of disorders, it is difficult to point out the particular events to which the author alludes. They are probably those which occurred between the years 930—940.

³ Otho II. married, in 972, Theophania, daughter of the Greek emperor Romanus II. This princess died at Rome, June 15, 991. Her husband had died there December 7, 983. Otho III., their son, crowned on the 25th of December, 983, at Aix-la-Chapelle, died on the 23rd of January, 1002.

⁴ Our author probably here refers to the revolt of Hugh the Great and other lords, against Louis d'Outremer in 941, when that prince was forced to seek refuge with the Count de Vienne. He then goes back to the battle of Soissons (June 15, 923).

having suffered much adversity, and was buried at Rheims, in the church of St. Remi.¹ Lothaire, his son, was crowned at Rheims, and ably governed the kingdom for the space of seven years. At this time Hugh the Great, of Orleans, duke of France, raised himself above all the nobles of France by his riches and power. He married the daughter of the emperor Otho, by whom he had three sons, Hugh, Otho, and Henry, and a daughter of the name of Emma, who married Richard the elder, duke of Normandy, but died without children.²

In the second year of the reign of Lothaire, in the month of August, Hugh the Great besieged the town of Poitiers; but through the merits of St. Hilary, bishop and patron of the town, the Lord caused an awful thunder, while a violent whirlwind rent the duke's tent, who, struck with a panic, as well as his army, immediately raised the siege and retreated.³ The same year, Gislebert, duke of Burgundy departed this life, and Otho, his son-in-law, the son of Hugh the Great, obtained possession of the duchy, but dying without children not long afterwards, he was succeeded by his brother Henry. Then Ansegise, bishop of Troyes, was driven from his see by Earl Robert, and repaired to the court of the emperor Otho in Saxony. Returning thence at the head of an army of Saxons, he laid siege to Troyes which held out for a considerable time, although he was ably assisted by the forces of the chiefs, Helpo and Bruno. One day as they were on an expedition to plunder the town

¹ These two events, the account of which is borrowed from the Chronicle of Hugh de Fleuri, as well as a great part of what follows, belong to the year 954. Lewis died at Rheims on the 10th of September, and was buried in the church of St. Remi, as our author states.

² King Lothaire was thirteen years old when he was crowned at Rheims on the 12th of November, 954. The duration of his reign was not seven, but thirty-one years. Hugh the Great, duke of France and Burgundy, count of Paris and Orleans, appears on the political scene from 922 to 956, the period of his death. By his third wife, Hadwide or Hedwiges, sister, and not daughter, of the Emperor Otto I., he had, besides the children here mentioned, an elder daughter named Beatrice.

³ It was not in the second, but in the first, year of the reign of king Lothaire, that Hugh the Great, displeased at seeing William-Tête-d'Etope invested with the duchy of Aquitaine and the earldom of Auvergne, appeared with the young king before Poitiers to lay siege to the place.

of Sens, archbishop Archambauld, with the aged count Raynard, and their troops, encountered them, fighting a battle in which duke Helpo and a number of the Saxons were slain. His colleague, Bruno, who was an eye-witness of their defeat, raised the siege, and returned to his own country in great sorrow.¹

King Lothaire recovered the kingdom of Lorraine; he repaired, attended by a numerous army, to the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the emperor Otho resided with his queen: he entered at the hour of dinner, no one trying to prevent him; for Otho, his wife and attendants, saved themselves by flight, and quietly left him in possession of the palace. Lothaire after this success returned to France, and the emperor, assembling an army, appeared before Paris, and set fire to one of the suburbs, but his nephew with many of his followers fell by the swords of the French.² Lothaire, therefore, calling to his assistance Hugh, duke of France, and Henry, duke of Burgundy, attacked their enemies, whom he defeated and pursued as far as Soissons. The terrified fugitives in their haste threw themselves headlong into the river Airne, and as they were not acquainted with the fords, numbers perished; indeed those who were drowned in the river were more

¹ Gislebert died on the 8th of April, 956; Otho, his son-in-law, on the 23rd of February, 965; Henry, about 1002. Robert de Vermandois, earl of Châlons and of Beaune in right of his wife Adelaide, drove Bishop Ansegise out of Troyes about 958. He also took Dijon the following year, and drove the king's officers out of the town. In the month of October, Archbishop Bruno, uncle of Lothaire, at the head of a strong army, in compliance with the request of this prince and of Queen Gerberga, retook these two places. No one knows who this Helpo was who fell near Sens. This episode of the expedition of Archbishop Bruno into Burgundy, as well as what relates to the town of Troyes, is borrowed from the *Chronicles of Hugh de Fleuri*.

² The expedition of Lothaire into Lorraine, and the momentary occupation of Aix-la-Chapelle by this prince, belong to the year 978; but the French editor thinks that we must exclude from this account the story, which seems to him evidently invented, of the dinner prepared for the emperor, but consumed by the king, although it is reported in almost all the chronicles of the succeeding age, and introduced again by our author in his seventh book, with fuller details. We know with certainty that the emperor having pursued Lothaire during his precipitate retreat, carried his devastations even to the environs of Paris; but as for the death of his nephew, this is considered another fable invented in the following century, and which has suffered many transformations.

numerous than those who fell by the sword. Its waters were swollen, and such multitudes perished in the current that its course was almost choked by their corpses.¹ King Lothaire continued the pursuit of the enemy three days and three nights. In the end of the same year, contrary to the wishes of his officers and his army, Lothaire concluded a peace with the emperor at Rheims, and ceded to him Lorraine, to the great grief of the French.²

King Lothaire died in the year of our Lord 976, and was interred at Rheims in the church of St. Remi. His son Lewis filled the throne eleven years, and at his death was buried in the church of St. Cornelius, the martyr, at Compiègne.³ Charles, his brother, claimed the throne; but Hugh the Great [Hugh Capet], son of Hugh the Great, opposed him, and, having raised a numerous army, sat down before Laon, where Charles resided with his queen. The king, full of indignation, made a sally at the head of the garrison, attacked and put to flight the army of Hugh, and burnt their huts. The duke, perceiving that Charles was not to be subdued by open warfare, concerted measures with Ascelin, bishop of Laon, who was the king's adviser. The bishop, forgetting his age and profession, and not considering that death was approaching, followed the example of Achitophel and Judas, and did not blush to become a traitor. During the night, when all the inhabitants were asleep, he admitted Hugh into the town, who made Charles and his wife, the daughter of Herbert, earl of Troyes, prisoners, and condemned them to perpetual captivity in the tower of Orleans. There, Charles became the father of

¹ There is much exaggeration in these details, borrowed from Hugh de Fleuri.

² Our author borrows this account also from the Chronicle of Hugh de Fleuri. The treaty between the two monarchs took place in 980. The Saxon Chronicle states that the place selected for the meeting was Ingelheim, and it is probably correct.

³ King Lothaire was poisoned by his wife Emma, at Compiègne, on the 2nd of March, 986. Lewis V., called the Indolent, crowned at Compiègne during the lifetime of his father, on the 8th of June, 979, died May 21, 987; it is therefore impossible to reckon eleven years as the duration of his reign, even if we dated from his coronation. Our author's guide, Hugh de Fleuri, gives nine years, which is one too much.

two children, Lewis and Charles; but from that time the posterity of Charlemagne ceased to reign in France.¹

In the year of our Lord 983, Hugh, the duke, was anointed king at Rheims. In the same year, Robert his son was crowned king, and reigned thirty-eight years.² Hugh was induced by a vision to commit this great crime. St. Valery appeared to him when he was duke at Lutetia, the city of the Parisii. He revealed to him in a dream who he was, and what he wanted, commanding him to undertake an expedition against Arnold, earl of Flanders, and take his body out of the monastery of Sithieu, where that of St. Bertin also lies, and restore it to the convent of Leuconäus in the Vimeux. He then promised him that, if he faithfully obeyed his orders, he and his posterity to the seventh generation should wear the crown of France. Hugh readily obeyed the orders of the saint, and, by the will of God, terrified Arnold with his impetuous courage, recovered and reverently restored to their tombs the bodies of the venerable saints Valery and Riquier, which had been carried away by a certain clerk named Erchambald, bribed by the offer of a large sum of money. The duke himself repaired to Leuconäus with the great men of his court, and deposited the remains of St. Valery in a monastery situate on the banks of the Somme, and having driven out the secular canons, filled their places with regular monks. Not long

¹ Charles of France, duke of Lorraine, was not brother of Lewis V., as our author, following Hugh de Fleuri, calls him, but King Lothaire's. Hugh Capet never bore the title of Great, which was exclusively given to his father. It was on Good Friday, April 3, 991, that Ascalin or Adalbéron, bishop of Laon, opened the gates of that town to him. Agnes de Vermandois, the second wife of Charles, was the daughter of Herbert III., count of Vermandois, who was also often called count of Troyes and Meaux. Their children, Lewis and Charles, who shared their captivity at Orleans, were still alive in 1009, a period when mentioned with King Robert, at the commencement of a charter.

² The coronation of Hugh Capet took place on the 3rd of July, 987, and that of King Robert, his son, taken by him as his colleague, on the 1st of January, 988. The computation of the years of the reign of this last prince, given by our author, is inexact, whether we include or not those during which he shared the government with his father; because, in the first case, his reign lasted more than forty-two years and a half, and in the second, thirty-three years and nine months.

afterwards, as already stated, he usurped the throne, which his descendants have filled to the present day; for four kings of his race have reigned up to this moment, namely, Robert, Henry, Philip, and Lewis.¹ Hugh, at the commencement of his reign, convoked a synod at Rheims, to which he invited Sewin, archbishop of Sens, with his suffragans, and ordered Arnold, archbishop of Rheims, to be degraded; declaring that according to the canons of the church the son of a concubine could not be a bishop. But in truth he was jealous of Arnold, because he had the royal blood of Charlemagne in his veins, being the brother of king Lothaire, although the son of a concubine. He was not however for this reason the less worthy and unassuming, but was renowned for his great virtues. But the venerable Sewin feared God more than the king; he therefore refused to be a party to the unjust degradation of Arnold; what was more, as far as lay in his power, he opposed the king's design. His opposition only incensed the king against himself and induced him to persist in his unjust project. However, some other bishops were worked on by their fears, though with great reluctance, to pronounce the sentence of degradation on Arnold, and consecrated in his place Gerbert, a monk and philosopher, who had been tutor to king Robert. In this manner, by the imperious command of the king, Arnold was deposed, expelled ignominiously from the church of the blessed Mary, mother of God, and imprisoned at Orleans for three years. These outrages were soon brought to the knowledge of the pope, who, being highly indignant, suspended the bishops who had deposed Arnold and put Gerbert in his place. He also sent Leo, an abbot, into France, as the legate of the apostolical see, to remedy these irregular proceedings. The legate began his labours by first paying a visit to Sewin at Sens, and communicated to him the orders of the holy see, knowing him to be a more strict observer of what was right than the rest. In

¹ For information respecting this vision of Hugh Capet, and the events that were the consequence of it, see the *Acta SS. ord. S. Benedicti, sæc. v.* p. 556, et seq. Leuconauis was the primitive name of St. Valéri sur Somme. The relics of the saint were carried back there by Hugh himself in 981, after he had exacted their restitution from the Earl of Flanders by threats of an invasion.

obedience to the apostolic commands, another council was assembled at Rheims, and archbishop Arnold was released from custody, and restored to his see with great honour. The pleadings between the prelate Gerbert, and abbot Leo are considered of great importance, and are carefully filed among the records of the archbishops of Rheims.¹ Gerbert was very well read in sacred and profane literature, and had many illustrious and noble pupils in his school, amongst whom were, King Robert, Leotheric, archbishop of Sens; Remi, bishop [monk] of Auxerre; Haimond, and Hubold, and several others who rank high on the list of learned men. Bishop Remi composed a good commentary on the mass, and published a useful edition of the work of the grammarian Donatus. Haimond wrote a valuable exposition on St. Paul's epistles, and commented on the gospels and other parts of the holy scriptures. Hubold, who was skilled in music, made the churches echo with the praises of the Creator, composing a sweet office in praise of the Holy Trinity, besides a number of hymns in honour of God and his saints.² These, and many others received instruc-

¹ Arnold, the illegitimate son of King Lothaire, and not of Lewis d'Outre-Mer, was created archbishop of Rheims through the influence of Hugh Capet in 988 or 989. Having violated the engagements into which he had entered with this prince, and given up the town to his uncle Charles, competitor with Hugh for the crown, he was arrested at Laon on the 2nd of April, 991, carried prisoner to Orleans, and deposed in the synod of bishops held at St. Basle, near Rheims. In 997, he was liberated, and recovered his bishoprick, which he kept until his death in 1023. It appears that there was no council at Rheims in 995, but only a preparatory council held at Mouson on the 2nd of June, in which another was announced to be held at Rheims on the 1st of July, which Hugh Capet, the protector of Gerbert, probably prevented from taking place. We still possess the discourse which Gerbert pronounced at this meeting, but his discussion with the legate Leo, abbot of St. Boniface, is now lost.

² Our author has confounded Remigius [Rémi], a monk, and not bishop, of Auxerre, who taught at Rheims, and also at Paris, at the end of the ninth century, with Remigius, a monk of Mithlac in the diocese of Treves, who really was a disciple of Gerbert. The greater part of the works of Rémi of Auxerre have been ascribed sometimes to Haimon, bishop of Halberstadt, a person still more ancient, sometimes to a certain Haimon the Wise, who is no other than Rémi himself; indeed all those that are here mentioned under that name belong to him. Hubolde, canon of the church at Liege, was a professor at Paris towards the end of the tenth century, but had no relation with Gerbert. The works that are here attributed to him, we owe to Hucbalde, a monk of Saint Amand,

tions from Gerbert, and, by their varied knowledge in after days rendered the greatest services to the church of God. Degraded from the archiepiscopal throne of Rheims, which he had unjustly usurped, he quitted France with shame and indignation, and repaired to the court of the emperor Otho, by whom, and the people of Ravenna, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of that town. A few years afterwards, he was translated to the apostolic see, being raised to the papal dignity under the name of Silvester [II.] in the year 999. It is related that when Gerbert was master of a school, he had a conference with the devil, and inquired of him what his future career was to be. He immediately received the following ambiguous answer:—

*Transit ab R. Gerbertus ad R. post papa vigens R.*¹

Translated from R, you still will be R, and as pope shall be R.

This oracle was too obscure to be then understood; but we clearly see that after a while it was fulfilled, for Gerbert passed from the see of Rheims to that of Ravenna, and afterwards was elected pope at Rome.

In the year of our Lord 1002, the emperor Otho died, and was succeeded by Henry [II.] Afterwards, that is to say in 1024, Cono [Conrad II.] became emperor. In the third year of his reign, Richard II. put off mortality. His zeal for religion justly gained him the title of father of the monks.²

contemporary and friend of Rémi of Auxerre, except the Office of the Holy Trinity, which is from the pen of Stephen, bishop of Liege. See the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, t. vi.

¹ Gerbert was in Italy with Otho III. in the summer of 997. He was named archbishop of Ravenna at the commencement of the following year, and pope in 999. The verse quoted by our author is usually written in the following manner:—

Scandit ab R. Girbertus in R., post papa regens R.

² “Otho III. died, as already stated, on the 23rd of January 1002. Henry II., his successor, elected emperor June 6, 1002, died July 13, 1024. Conrad II. (not Cono) having been crowned on the 8th of September, 1024, the third year of his reign must be reckoned in September, 1027. But we know that Duke Richard II. died on the 23rd of August of that year. Ordericus Vitalis gives the 23rd of August, 1027, as the date of this event, that is to say, one year more than is usually done. We find the same date in a charter of William the Conqueror. This is also my own opinion, but it is a very obscure question, and I acknowledge that I have not always solved it in the same way.”—*French Editors*.

During the reign of Ethelred the son of Edgar, many disastrous events happened in England. Sweyn, king of the Danes, having assembled a numerous fleet, invaded the country, upon which king Ethelred, being deserted by his own subjects, who went over to the Danes, escaped into Normandy with his wife and sons. Emma, his queen, was the sister of Richard I. [II.], son of Gunnor and duke of Normandy, and of Robert, archbishop of Rouen. Not long afterwards, the heathen king, Sweyn, was killed by St. Edmund, king and martyr, and his body was embalmed, and carried to Denmark. The Danes were still pagans, and were terrified at the death of their fierce chief, whose corpse could not be buried in English ground. However, king Ethelred, having heard the report of Sweyn's death, immediately returned to his own country, and, by fair words and promises, drew to him those who had deserted his standard, and encouraged them to defend themselves better than they had hitherto done. But Canute, the son of Sweyn, was highly incensed at the flight of his troops, who had abandoned in such a cowardly manner the noble kingdom of England, which they had already subdued; he therefore equipped a powerful fleet, and Olave, king of Norway, with Laeman, king of Sweden, crossing over to England, laid siege to London. At that time king Ethelred was lying sick, and soon afterwards died there; and Edmund, his son, surnamed *Ironsides*, was raised to the throne. Many battles were fought between the English and the Danes with uncertain results, and much blood was shed on both sides. At last, through the well-directed efforts of some prudent men, the two princes agreed on the terms of peace so necessary to the welfare of their subjects. Canute embraced Christianity, and received for his wife Emma, the widow of King Ethelred, with one-half of the kingdom. By her he had Hardicanute, who became king of England, and Gunnilda, who married Henry III., emperor of the Romans.¹

¹ Ethelred II. ascended the throne in 978, immediately after the assassination of his brother Edward the Martyr. In 1013, after a protracted contest, England was conquered by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Ethelred retired into Normandy to the court of his brother-in-law, Duke Richard II. The death of Sweyn happened on the 2nd of February, 1014. Ethelred,

At the instigation of Satan, who never rests from stirring deadly feuds among men, King Edmund, after a reign of seven years, was murdered in a privy by the treachery of the cruel Edric Streon; and Canute obtained the sovereignty of the whole of England, which he enjoyed until his death. He sent to Denmark Edward and Edmund, the sons of Edmund II., two amiable young princes,¹ and requested Sweyn his brother, king of the Danes, to put them to death. However, he refused to be a party to the murder of these innocent children; and took an opportunity of delivering them as hostages to the king of the Huns, passing them off as his nephews. There Child Edmund prematurely died, but Edward, by God's permission, obtained the crown of Hungary, with the hand of the king's daughter, and became the father of three children, Edgar Atheling,² Margaret, queen of the Scots, and Christina, who became

who returned to England, after an absence of six weeks, was still as powerless as ever against the Danes, whatever our author may say to the contrary. After a severe struggle, Canute, son and successor of Sweyn, shared the kingdom with Edmund Ironside, the son and successor of Ethelred, in 1016, marrying at the same time the widow of the latter. Edmund did not long hold the kingdom of Wessex, his share under the treaty, as we shall presently see. As for Lacman and Olave (see William of Jumièges, lib. v. ch. 11), the first, who appears to be quite an imaginary personage, could not be king of Sweden at that period, as the throne was filled by Olave, surnamed the Infant, who died in 1026. Olave II., king of Norway, far from taking part in the expedition of Canute, had recovered his dominions from him in 1015, and never ceased to be his most inveterate enemy. Chunelind, daughter of Canute, here named Gunnilda, married, in 1036, the Emperor Henry III., and died in 1038.

¹ "Alveolos," a word peculiar to our author, from whence comes the French *élèves*. He sometimes writes it "Albeolos." Like the Norman [and Anglo-Saxon] authors in general, he calls Denmark *Dacia*, as just before he has called the Norwegians *Norici*, and elsewhere the Swedes, *Suevi*.

² Our author, in this paragraph and elsewhere, gives the young princes the titles generally applied, among the Anglo-Saxons, to the sons of the king, *Clito* and *Atheling*; giving to this last name the Norman form *Adelin*. The two words have the same meaning, a noble youth. *Child*, as Child-Harold, Child-Edmund, is the Anglo-Saxon word translated "Clito." Atheling is derived from *adel*, noble, with the termination *ling*, expressive of youth or inferiority, as suckling, hireling. See note to *Henry of Huntingdon's History*, p. 122 (Bohn's edition). Both these titles were introduced into Normandy, where the first has remained attached to the name of William Clito (Guillaume Cliton), son of Robert-Courte-Heuse (Curt-hose).

a nun. Edward, the son of king Ethelred, having recovered his father's throne, invited them over to England, and brought them up with as much care as if they had been his own children.¹

In the year of our Lord 1031, Robert, king of the French, died, and Henry his son, supported by Robert, duke of Normandy, secured the throne notwithstanding the opposition of Queen Constance and his younger brother Robert, and others of the French. His reign lasted twenty-nine years.²

Robert, duke of Normandy, died on the calends [1st] of July, in the fifth year of his reign, at Nice, a town of Bithynia, on his return from Jerusalem, and William the bastard, his son, a boy only eight years old, succeeded to his dukedom, which he ably governed for fifty years.³

¹ Edmund Ironside succeeded his father Ethelred II., who died on the 23rd of April, 1016, and was assassinated, at the instigation of Edric Streon, towards the end of November in the following year, *veru ferreo in secreta naturæ transfixus, dum in secessu resideret*, says Ralph de Diceto. What is related of the children of Edmund is disfigured with the grossest improbabilities, or even impossibilities. Thus our author makes Canute send them to his brother Sweyn, king of Denmark, but he never had a brother of that name, and the prince who shared with him the throne of Denmark from 1014 to 1017, was called Harold. Other historians call this Sweyn king of Sweden, but the king of Sweden contemporary with Canute, bore the name of Olave; lastly, they say one of the exiled princes married the sister of Solomon, king of Hungary, and our author even makes him reign over that country; and they marry the other to the daughter of the Emperor Henry II., sister-in-law to the king of Sweden. But Solomon did not ascend the throne before 1063, nearly fifty years after the princes were banished from England, and had only one sister, Adelaide, wife of Wratislas, king of Poland. What we know with certainty is, that the sons of Edmund took refuge in Hungary, whence the youngest returned to England, with his three children, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, his uncle, about the year 1055.

² King Robert died on the 20th of July, 1031. It is certain that the succour he received from Robert, duke of Normandy, in whose court Henry I. sought refuge, enabled that prince to defeat the intrigues of his mother. He died on the 29th of August, 1060.

³ King Robert, having died July 20, 1031, the fifth year of his son's reign extends from July 20, 1035, to July 20, 1036. But the common opinion is that Duke Robert died at Nice in Bithynia on the 2nd of July, 1035, and consequently in the fourth year of the reign of Henry I. Our author himself confirms this by saying, that William governed Normandy fifty-two years (July, 1035—September, 1087). It would not appear that he had completed his eighth year at his father's death, as he had only begun

However, during his childhood, the Normans, being naturally in an unsettled state, there was a long civil war, in which many of the nobility as well as the commons perished. Gislebert, count of Brionne, Osbern, high-steward of Normandy; Vauquelin de Ferrières, Hugh de Montfort, Roger of Spain, Robert de Grantemesnil, Turketil, guardian of the young duke, and many others, fell in these mutual quarrels.¹

his sixtieth when he himself died (*ferè sexagenarius*, the continuator of the history of William de Jumièges says).

¹ Gislebert was uncle, according to the custom of Brittany, as well as guardian, of the young prince. The circumstances of his tragic end, little honourable to his memory, are related by our author in book vii.

Gislebert, count of Brionne, son of Godfrey, count d'Eu and Brionne, the illegitimate child of Richard I., possessed the earldom of Eu for a short time, *parumper*, says William of Jumièges, probably after the death of his uncle William, another natural son of Richard I., who had succeeded Godfrey in this earldom, and to whose posterity it reverted.

Osbern the high-steward is also sometimes called Osbern de Crepon, from the name of an estate in the neighbourhood of Bayeux. William of Jumièges calls him *procurator principalis domus*, an office which was only concerned with that branch of the stewardship which regulated the internal service of the palace. He was assassinated at Vandreuil, in the very room and before the eyes of the duke, by William of Montgomery. His son was the famous William Fitz-Osbern.

Vauquelin de Ferrières, lord of Ferrières St. Hilaire, near Bernai, was the founder of the family of the barons de Ferrières and Ferrers (Ferrariis), so distinguished in Normandy and England. His descendants bore the singular title of "premiers barons fossiers de Normandie," or "baron-miners," which they derived from their ancient and valuable iron works at Ferrières, a rare instance in those times of importance and rank derived from such sources.

Hugh de Montfort, surnamed A la Barbe, the son of Toustain de Bastenbourg, and brother of William Bertran de Briquebec, was the ancestor of the lords of Montfort-sur-Risle. He perished, as well as Vauquelin de Ferrières, in a conflict in which these two barons attacked each other with the utmost fury, the first of the scenes of murder and anarchy which distracted the early years of the young duke's government, at that time purely nominal.

Roger, lord de Toeni and de Conches, surnamed of Spain, on account of his having visited that country (probably banished for some previous offence), during duke Robert's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and where he signalized himself by his exploits against the Moors, was descended, according to William de Jumièges, or rather his continuator and interpolator, from Matahulce, uncle of Rollo, but that could only be in the female line. The imperious character of Robert, which probably caused his journey to Spain, immediately exhibited itself after his return, and he openly refused to submit to the authority of a child, who was also illegitimate. This

Guy, son of Reynold, duke of Burgundy, by a daughter of Richard II., although William had conferred an earldom upon him, took up arms against him, and by dint of promises, drew over to his party a great number of the Normans, who were ripe for revolt. Supported by these, he menaced the young prince with the loss of his duchy, and he was forced to fly to Poissy, where he threw himself at the feet of Henry, king of France, and implored his aid against his traitorous nobles and relations. Henry, a generous prince, had compassion on one so young and friendless, and having assembled the flower of the French army, marched into Normandy to lend him his aid.¹

In the year of our Lord 1039, Conrad the emperor died, and Henry, his son, succeeded him, who reigned seventeen years. In the fourth year of his reign, there was a general mortality.²

In the year 1047 was fought the bloody battle of Valesdunes, in which Guy, who could not withstand the impetuous attack of King Henry and Duke William, was defeated and

succumbent, though it is asserted by a number of his contemporaries, may well surprise those who are aware of the frightful barbarism which then prevailed. Roger de Toeni having become, by his ravages and devastations, insupportable to all his neighbours, and more especially to Humphrey de Vieilles, he attacked him with his vassals, headed by his son, Roger de Beaumont and the aggressor fell in the conflict, with his two sons.

Robert de Grentemesnil (now Grandmesnil, near Croissanville), founder of the family of that name, perished in the fight between Roger de Beaumont and Roger de Toeni. Turketil, guardian of the young duke, is called Thorold by William de Jumièges. He appears to have been assassinated under the same circumstances, and perhaps at the same moment as Osbern the high-steward.

¹ Guy of Burgundy, second son of Reynold, earl of Burgundy, by Adelaide or Judith, eldest daughter of Richard II., received from Duke William, of whom he was cousin-german, Vernon and the earldom of Brionne, vacant by the death of Count Gislebert, whose children had retired to the court of the earl of Flanders. This token of good will did not prevent him from putting himself at the head of the malcontents of Lower Normandy, in order to take possession of the duchy. Never did William run greater danger than from the consequences of this rebellion, which broke out in 1047. He was forced, as our author says, to go to Poissy, and throw himself at the feet of King Henry to implore his assistance.

² Conrad died on the 4th of June, 1039, as already stated; his son Henry, elected in 1026, and crowned on Easter-day, 1028, died Oct. 5, 1056.

obliged to quit the field and fly with his troops, covered with shame and having suffered considerable loss.¹ In those days Bruno, bishop of Toul, repaired to Rome as ambassador from Lorraine. While on the road, one night as he was praying, he heard angels singing:—" *I think toward you, saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of evil.*"² Bruno having attained the end of his journey, was honourably received by Pope Damasus, and ordained cardinal-bishop in a conclave. He was noble in person as well as descent, wise and eloquent, and adorned with many virtues. The same year Pope Damasus died, and Bruno, who took the name of Leo, was elected pope. He made great efforts to revise the decisions of the holy canons which had fallen into disuse in times past, through the negligence of the kings and pontiffs already mentioned, and were almost forgotten. He therefore held a very important council at Rheims in the year 1050, in which chastity and righteousness were enforced in the ministers of God, and several decrees necessary to the welfare of the church renewed, though the bishops and priests were ignorant of their existence. He also, at the request of Hérimart, the abbot, consecrated the church of St. Remigius, archbishop of Rheims, on the calends [1st] of October, assisted and translated the body of the same bishop, whose feast is celebrated every year in France with great pomp on the first of October.³

The following year, the monastery of St. Evroult at Ouche was repaired by William, the son of Geroie, and his nephews, Hugh de Grantemesnil, and Robert his brother ;

¹ For the particulars of the battle of Valesdunes, or of the Val-des-Dunes, see Wace, ii. p. 27, et seq. This place appears to belong to the commune of Valmerai, now joined to Airan, near Croissanville. After his death, Guy shut himself up in his castle of Brionne, which, very differently situated from the one of which the ruins still exist, then occupied an island of the river Risle. He here defended himself for three years against the attacks of the besiegers, so that it was about the year 1050 that he quitted the island to seek refuge with the earl of Anjou, William's enemy.

² Jerem. xxix. 11.

³ Bruno, the son of Hugh, count of Egesheim, and bishop of Toul in 1026, elected pope at Worms at the end of 1048, was enthroned on the 12th of February, 1049, under the name of Leo IX. The dedication of the church of St. Remi took place on the 1st of October, 1049, and the opening of the council two days after.

the venerable monk of Jumièges, Theoderic, was the first abbot.¹

In those days, a violent animosity, which became the origin of a long war, broke out between the king of the French and the duke of the Normans. William D'Arques, uncle of the duke, had rebelled against him, and by the advice of Mauger, his brother, archbishop of Rouen, had requested the aid of King Henry. The brave duke immediately invested the town of Arques, and, marching against Engelran, count of Ponthieu, who attempted to throw relief into the place, killed the earl, and, after taking Arques, disinherited his uncle, and ordered Mauger, the author of these dissensions, to be degraded. The king of France chafed with indignation upon hearing this news, and, in 1054, entered the territory of Evreux, at the head of a numerous army, while he made his brother Eudes cross the Seine with a strong force and march into Beauvais. In these circumstances, Duke William hung upon the king's flank with a powerful army, having before detached against Eudes the troops of the Cauchois, under the orders of Robert, count d'Eu, and Roger de Mortemer. They came up with the French, and gave them battle at Mortemer, defeating them with dreadful slaughter on both sides, and Guy, count of Ponthieu, who had come to revenge the death of his brother, was made prisoner. The Normans, hastened to announce the victory to their duke in great triumph. The king of France was covered with shame on hearing that his troops were beaten by the Normans, and retired suddenly in great sorrow to his own dominions. Some time afterwards, the faithful ministers of peace interposed between the contending princes, and Guy and the other prisoners having been released, the king and the duke concluded a peace to the extreme satisfaction of their subjects.²

¹ It was on the 5th of October, 1050, that Theoderic de Matonville was chosen abbot of Ouche or St. Evroult. Our author supplies in the sequel very circumstantial details of the restoration of this abbey, and relating to the family of Geroie. For the present, it need only be observed, that Hugh and Robert de Grantemesnil were the two eldest sons of Robert de Grantemesnil lately spoken of.

² Archbishop Mauger was deposed by the council of Lisieux in May, 1055, two years after the revolt of the earl, and fourteen months after the battle of Mortemer. These facts, which are pretty correctly stated, are

In the year of our Lord 1060, Henry, king of the French, departed this life, and his son Philip who succeeded him, held the sceptre of France forty-seven years.¹ In the sixth year of his reign, Edward, son of Ethelred, and king of England, being dead,² Harold, the son of Godwin, usurped the throne of England. The following year a comet was seen.³ William, Duke of Normandy, crossed the sea in the autumn, and on the second of the ides [14th] of October fought with Harold, who, being slain in the battle, William became king. He was crowned on Christmas-day, and filled the throne twenty years and eight months. The holy church in his time increased and was exalted, under the direction of religious men and good rulers; for Maurillius, John and William filled the metropolitan see of Rouen, Lanfranc was archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas of York; the monasteries and bishoprics were entrusted to the care of godly fathers and superiors.

In the year of our Lord 1087, King William died, after whom William Rufus, his son, reigned twelve years and ten months.⁴

given in more detail in our author's seventh book. It may be observed, however, that the majority of contemporary historians agree that the active part taken by Archbishop Mauger in the dispute between William and the court of Rome relative to the canonical impediments to his marriage with Matilda of Flanders, had more to do with the bishop's deposition than the evil counsels he gave his brother, or the laxity of his own mode of life. He was not deposed till the synod of Liseux, held in May, 1055, two years after the count's revolt, and fourteen months after the battle of Mortemer.

² Henry I., king of France, died on the 4th of August, 1060, as already stated. Philip I., his son, having lived until the 29th of July, 1108, reigned forty-eight years less six days.

² Edward the Confessor died January 5, 1066, and consequently in the course of the sixth year of the reign of Philip I.

³ It will appear in the sequel that the comet appeared in the month of April of the same, and not the following, year. Our author reckons the years of William's reign from the day of his coronation (December 25, 1066—September 9, 1087). Maurillus was archbishop of Rouen from September, 1055, till the 9th of August, 1067; John (1067—1079); William Bonne-Ame (1079—Feb. 9, 1110). Lanfranc was primate of Canterbury from the 29th of August, 1070, till the 28th of May, 1089, and Thomas of York from the month of September, 1070, to November 18, 1100.

⁴ The death of William the Conqueror took place on the 9th of September, 1087, according to our author and the necrology of Jumièges, and not

About this period, in 1095, pope Urban held a numerously attended council at Clermont, at which he exhorted all Christians to join the crusade and deliver Jerusalem from the pagans. Drought, famine, and pestilence, at that time desolated the world.¹

In the year of our Lord 1099, Jerusalem was captured by the holy pilgrims from the infidel tribes who had long held possession of it. Then died Pope Urban [II.], and Pascal [II.] succeeded him.² The following year William Rufus, king of England, was struck by an arrow which killed him as he was hunting in the New Forest. His brother Henry [I.] succeeded him, and reigned thirty-five years and four months. In the seventh year of his reign he fought the battle of Tinchebrai, in which he took prisoner Robert, his brother, duke of Normandy, and became master of the whole duchy. Then the emperor Henry died on the seventh of the ides [7th] of August, and Charles Henry his son succeeded him. Three years afterwards, Philip, king of the French, departed this life, and Louis Thibaut obtained the crown, and has now reigned twenty-nine years. The next year Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, abbot of Cluni, departed this life, and were soon followed by William, archbishop of Rouen. During these three years, a horrible famine in France, and a great number of persons were debilitated by attacks of erysipelas.²

on the 10th, as other historians assert. As William Rufus died on the 2nd of August, 1100, his reign really lasted twelve years and nearly eleven months, but our author reckons from the 30th of September, the anniversary of the feast of St. Michael, on which he was crowned.

¹ The council of Clermont was opened by the pope in person on the 18th of November, 1095, and closed on the 26th of the same month.

² Jerusalem was taken on the 15th of July, 1099. Urban II. died on the 29th of the same month, and the election of his successor, Pascal II., took place a fortnight after.

³ The precise date of the death of William Rufus is already given; that of Henry I. happened December 1, 1135. The battle of Tinchebrai was fought at the commencement of the autumn of 1106. The death of the emperor Henry IV. took place on the 7th of the month of August, preceding that of Philip I. on the 29th of July, 1108; and consequently not in the third, but the second year, whether we reckon from the battle of Tinchebrai, or the death of the emperor. The twenty-ninth year of the reign of Lewis the Fat, crowned on the 2nd of August, 1108, ended in 1137, and as he died on the 1st of August at Paris, this paragraph must have been written before the news had arrived at Saint Evroult, that is to say, in July

In the year of our Lord 1118, on the eve of Christmas, a violent gale of wind passed over the west of Europe, and many houses and forest-trees were blown down. The next year, war broke out between Henry, king of England, and Lewis, the French king; the battle of Bremulle, was fought on the thirteenth of the calends of September [20th August], in which the English and Normans gained the victory over the French army who were routed. The same year Pope Calixtus [II.] held a synod of many bishops, and used all his endeavours to put an end to the contest. Peace having been at last made between the two kings, as the king of England was returning to his own country, his two sons William and Richard, with a great number of the nobility from several countries, perished by shipwreck.¹

In the year of our Lord 1123, the first indiction, Amauri, count of Evreux, and Valeran, count of Meulan, and some others associated with them, having rebelled against their sovereign, King Henry, besieged, took, and burnt to the ground their towns of Montfort, Brionne, and Pont-Audemer. After many serious losses, count Waleran was taken prisoner in battle, with eighty of his soldiers, and kept five years in captivity by King Henry, who had brought him up, and against whom he had now the presumption to take arms.¹

In the year of our Lord 1125, a great change occurred among the reigning princes. The emperor Charles Henry V.

or at the commencement of August. St. Anselm died on the 21st, and Hugh, abbot of Cluni, on the 29th of April, 1109; William Bonne-Ame on the 19th of February, 1110, as we have just seen. The erysipelas was particularly severe in 1109, and especially desolated France; meanwhile the dominions of the king of England were a prey to two other plagues, leprosy in Normandy and famine on the other side of the channel.

¹ The battle of Bremulle, called by the English historians the battle of Noyon (see Huntingdon, p. 248, for a full account), was fought on the 20th of August, 1119; the council of Clermont between the 21st and 31st of October following; the peace between the two kings in the course of November; and lastly, the shipwreck of the *Blanche-Nef* on the 25th of the same month.

² The author or his copyists have omitted here the name of Hugh de Montfort, one of the leaders of this conspiracy, which was discovered in the month of October, 1123. Their meeting at La-Croix-Saint-Leufroi took place during the month of September. Brionne, invested in October, held out for one month; Pont-Audemer and Montfort for six weeks; Count Waleran was not taken before the 26th of March following, at the battle of Rougemontier.

died, and Lothaire, duke of Saxony, succeeded to the empire. At the same time, William, duke of Poitiers, and William, duke of Apulia, two illustrious princes, also departed this life; and before three years had elapsed, Charles duke [count] of Flanders, was assassinated in a church while hearing mass, on the calends [1st] of March. He was succeeded by William, the son of Robert, duke of Normandy, who was killed the following year at Alost. Then also died Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Geoffry, archbishop of Rouen.¹ In the year 1130 from the incarnation of our Saviour, Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem died on the 18th of the calends of September [15th August], and was succeeded by Fulk count of Anjou, his son-in-law. Two years afterwards, Pope Honorius died at Rome; and soon after this event, a deplorable schism troubled the church; for the deacon Gregory, a native of Pavia, was chosen pope during the night by a few of his partisans, assuming the name of Innocent; and the church established in the western parts of Europe received and submitted to him; but three days afterwards Peter, the son of Leo, was enthroned, and called Anaclete. Being supported by brothers, relations, and friends, who were extremely powerful, he has now retained undisturbed possession of the city of Rome, and the revenues and domains of the papacy for seven years; Apulia, Sicily, and a great part of Christendom acknowledging his rule.²

¹ The emperor, Henry V., died on the 23rd of May, 1125, and was succeeded by Lothaire II. on the 30th of August following; William IX. duke of Aquitaine, died February 10, 1126; William, duke of Apulia, July 20, 1127; Charles, earl of Flanders, on the 2nd of March in the same year; William Clito on the 28th of July, 1128, and Geoffry, archbishop of Rouen, on the 25th of November following. Gormond, patriarch of Jerusalem, and son of Gormond the second of that name, lord of Picquigni, also died in 1128, from the effects of the fatigue he endured during his defence of the Castle of Bethassem, near Sidon.

² Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, died August 21, 1131, and his son-in-law Fulk, earl of Anjou, was crowned on the 14th of September following. Honorius died February 14, 1130; Innocent II., his successor, was elected the next day, early in the morning, by sixteen cardinals, before the death of the pope was known, and the antipope Anaclete by twenty-one, as soon as the news was spread abroad. The approbation of St. Bernard, who openly declared in favour of Innocent, induced France and the rest of the western states to acknowledge him, but St. Bernard had some difficulty in

In the year of our Lord 1136, in the 14th indiction, Henry, king of England and duke of Normandy, a firm friend of peace and justice, a faithful worshipper of God, the protector of the weak, and zealous defender of the holy church, died on the calends [1st] of December, at the castle of Lions. His body, after being embalmed, was carried to England, and buried in the church of the Holy Trinity in the abbey of Reading, which he had founded and given to the monks.¹ Stephen of Blois, his nephew, a son of his sister Adela, succeeded him on the throne, and has now completed the sixth year of his reign,² which has been marked by important events, pregnant with serious losses and disasters; for Stephen, having fought a battle at Lincoln³ with the barons who were in arms against him, was defeated and taken prisoner, and is now detained a wretched captive in the prison of Robert at Bristol.⁴

bringing the king, and still more the Norman and English bishops to his side, perhaps because the Normans in Sicily had taken that of Anaclete; some traces of this feeling seem to be indicated in the terms which Ordericus employs in relating the election of Pope Innocent: *a quibusdam noctu*, by a small number and by night. The death of Anaclete, which happened on the 7th of January, 1138, put an end to the dispute. This paragraph was evidently written between the month of February, 1137, and the moment when the news arrived at St. Evroult.

¹ We learn from our author himself that Henry I. died on the 1st of December, 1135, and not in 1136, at the castle of Lions. He was interred in the monastery of Reading (Berkshire), which he had founded in 1125, on the site of another more ancient.

² Stephen of Blois, his nephew by his sister Adela, was crowned on the 26th of December, 1135. The battle of Lincoln was fought on the 2nd of February, 1141.

³ The preceding paragraph of the history was evidently written between the moment of hearing the news of the captivity of the king at Bristol, and that of his exchange for the Earl of Gloucester, which took place on the 1st of November following. We may be allowed to suppose that it was in the month of July, the period when Ordericus terminated the thirteenth and last book of his history. Perhaps the best account of the battle of Lincoln and succeeding events is that given by Henry of Huntingdon, who was a canon of that church, and was either there at the time of the battle, as seems probable, or heard the particulars from eye-witnesses. See pp. 273—280 (Bohn's edition).

⁴ In the MS. Brihiton, a name which seems to have puzzled both Ordericus and his French editors. However there can be no doubt that Bristol is meant. Its ancient name was Brihtstowe, and its castle was the chief seat of Robert, earl of Gloucester, in which Stephen was confined.

In the year of our Lord 1138, Peter Anaclete died suddenly. The emperor Lothaire¹ also breathed his last while on his way back from Apulia, which he had conquered; his successor, Conrad, was nephew to the emperor Charles Henry. Nevertheless Roger, king of Sicily, having followed the steps of Conrad, entered Apulia, and, on the decease of Ralph, the brave duke, to whom the pope and emperor had entrusted the defence of the country, recaptured all the towns which had been taken from him. However, he compelled the pope, though very reluctantly and with great regret, to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily and duchy of Apulia, and, having received his absolution, appointed his son Roger duke of Apulia.²

Following in the steps of my predecessors, and endeavouring to write annals, I have now, in this first book of my *Ecclesiastical History*, begun the thread of my narrative with the incarnation of our Saviour, and have brought it down, through the succession of emperors and kings to the present day, when the emperor John, son of Alexis, reigns at Constantinople, Lothaire governs the Germans, Louis the French, Stephen the English, and the ex-monk Remigius the Spaniards.³ In my second book, I propose by

¹ After the words, "Lothaire the emperor," there is in the MS. of St. Evroult a blank page, in which the author probably intended to insert further particulars of passing events, but which contains only nine lines of an evidently later date. The preceding paragraph, except some words added or interlined, was written at the same time as the rest of the book, which seems to show that this part of the MS. was not written before 1141.

² The precise date of the death of Anacletus is already given; that of Lothaire happened on the 4th of December, 1137; and that of Ralph on the 3rd of April, 1139. Innocent II. was taken prisoner on the 22nd of July in the same year, and on the 25th bestowed on Roger the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, and the principality of Capua. Roger, the son of this prince, who had taken the pope prisoner, received from his father the duchy of Apulia, and died before him in 1148.

³ John Comnenus reigned from the 15th of August, 1118, until the 8th April, 1143. The person whom our author calls Remigius, king of Spain, is Ramirus II., king of Arragon, surnamed indeed the Monk, because he was taken out of a convent, after the death of his brother, to ascend the throne, which he occupied until 1137.

Ordericus Vitalis must have written the conclusion of this book between the coronation of Stephen (December 26, 1135) and the news of the abdication of Ramirus, as well as of the death of Lothaire (December 4, 1137),

God's help to inquire what the old doctors have written and scribes¹ have copied, respecting the holy apostles and apostolic men, meaning to make a short abridgment of their acts, as the Holy Spirit shall vouchsafe to inspire me.

At the request of my superiors, I shall diligently, with a faithful pen, trace the series of the popes of Rome and their fellow labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

From Peter, to whom first the Lord Jesus Christ said: "*I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,*"² to Pope Innocent, who now governs the apostolic see, we reckon one hundred and forty-one bishops of Rome. I hope to be able to give to the world, in my next book, some account of all these popes who are mentioned in the work called "*The Acts of the Popes.*"

consequently about four years before the two preceding paragraphs, which were inserted at a later date.

¹ "Antigraphus," *scriptor, cancellarius*.—*Du Cange Gloss.*

² Matt. xvi. 19.

BOOK II.

CH. I. *History of the church from our Lord's ascension to St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, A.D. 33—57.*

WHEN the fulness of time was come, the divine grace, mercifully announced to mankind the saving visitation which was provided before the creation of the world, and towards its last age illuminated the dark recesses of the hearts of men with the rays of a new light. Our Lord Jesus Christ, as the sublime voice of the holy gospel truly informs us, in the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius Cæsar, was baptized by John in the river Jordan; and the true sun shone forth by visible signs and wonders for three years and a half, and manifested to the world his divine nature, by which he is co-equal, consubstantial, and co-eternal, with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Afterwards, in his mercy, he suffered on the cross in the thirty-third year of his age,¹ for the salvation of man; and, having destroyed death, which for five thousand years had kept mankind fast bound in the chains of a just damnation, he despoiled hell, and, having vanquished Satan, the old serpent, on the third day rose triumphantly from the dead. Lastly, on the fortieth day, after he had confirmed the belief of the faithful witnesses in his resurrection, by often showing himself to them openly, and commanded them to preach the gospel to all nations, giving them power to perform miracles, he led the disciples forth as far as Bethany, and, standing on mount Olivet, blessed them, and while they beheld with joy, ascended into heaven. Ten days afterwards, while his friends were fasting and continuing in prayer with one accord, he sent to them the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and according to his promise instantly, by an internal unction, he taught them all things, gloriously filled them with all spiritual powers, strengthened them against all the assaults

¹ "The baptism of Christ took place at the commencement of the sixteenth, not the fifteenth, year of the reign of Tiberius. If, as now generally believed, our Lord was not born later than the end of the year 749 from the foundation of Rome, he had at least begun his thirty-seventh year at the period of his crucifixion in 786."—*M. Le Prévost.*

of their enemies, and made them invincible champions of the faith and teachers of all nations.

Luke, a Syrian by birth, a physician by profession, and a faithful disciple of Christ, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, after having written his gospel for the instruction of the faithful in Greece, added the noble volume of the Acts of the Apostles, which he addressed to Theophilus. The word means *a lover of God*, and may be applied to all who are studious and intelligent, and unceasingly devoted to meditation on the divine law. To such the word of God is justly addressed, and they eagerly receive it and hold it fast with sincere affection. The gospel, that is to say, the good tidings, penetrate their hearts, the triumphs of the invincible army of apostles and martyrs are recounted to them because they are accounted worthy to be made partakers of the heavenly mysteries.¹

The eloquent Arator also, sub-deacon of the see of Rome, diligently copied the narrative of St. Luke, making it the substance of a metrical composition, in a poem he presented to Pope Vigilius, remarkable for the beauty of its melodious versification; leaving to future generations, a noble monument of his genius.² I aim at tracing the course of such illustrious precursors as these, although, like a lame man halting by the way, I can only follow them with slow and distant steps; but desiring to treat of the apostles and their blessed fellow combatants for the faith, with the materials which they have furnished.

Luke tells us, in his lucid narrative, that, on the holy day of pentecost, the apostles were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and spoke, in the different gentile languages, of the wonderful works of God, to the great amazement of the Jews, who were then assembled from various parts of the world. But while their enemies showed their hatred, and

¹ The Acts of the Apostles form the sequel to St. Luke's gospel, and are addressed to the same person. They embrace a period of thirty-three years, from the year 32 of the Christian era until about the year 65. Notwithstanding all their marks of authenticity, we do not find them quoted by the fathers of the church till an advanced period of the second century.—*M. Le Prévost*.

² Arator, at first secretary and intendant of finances to Athalaric, and afterwards sub-deacon of the Roman church, presented to Pope Vigilius in the year 544, the Acts of the Apostles in Latin verse.

muttered, "These men are full of new wine," Peter, inflamed with zeal for the faith, stood up with the eleven, and, lifting up his voice, explained that the coming of the Holy Ghost the Comforter had been foretold long before by the prophet Joel. He supported the truth of his declaration, that Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God by miracles, and wonders and signs, was raised from the dead three days after his passion on the cross, by reference to predictions in the Psalms. The Jews were pricked in their heart, and, receiving the word to the salvation of their souls, were baptized; and the same day there were added about three thousand souls to the number of the believers.¹ Such was the origin of the primitive church, on which the heavenly grace was abundantly bestowed.

Many wonders and signs were done by the apostles at Jerusalem, and all those who saw these extraordinary things trembled with fear. And they that believed lived together, and had all things common. They sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. Every day the faithful increased in virtue, while the Lord added continually to the number of those who were to be saved.

Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the ninth hour, and there saw a beggar who had been lame from his mother's womb. Peter told the indigent man that he possessed no earthly riches, but offered him something more valuable; and, taking him by the hand, presently healed him in the name of Jesus Christ. Immediately his feet and ankle-bones received strength, so that he leaped up and ran, and entered with them into the temple, rejoicing and praising God before all the people, who were filled with wonder and amazement when they saw this special miracle performed in the name of Jesus Christ on the lame man, who was laid daily at the Beautiful Gate of the temple. While the apostles were thus employed, the people ran together to Solomon's porch, to see him who had just been healed by the virtue of the name of Christ. Seeing the multitude assembled, Peter opened his mouth and humbly disclaimed the merit of the cure, which he wholly ascribed to the divine nature of Jesus Christ. Mildly rebuking the

¹ Acts ii. 1—41. (Year 33 of the Christian era.)

Jews who had persecuted him, and trusting in the inexhaustible mercy of his Master, he mildly excused them, because they did it through ignorance. At the end of his discourse, he exhorted them to repent of their sins, and proved to them in the clearest manner that the Saviour and true Prophet had already come, as Moses, and Samuel, and all the prophets had predicted long before.¹

As they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, came upon them, and, laying hands upon them, put them in hold; for, being filled with the bitterness of iniquity, they were grieved that the apostles taught the people, and preached, through Jesus, the resurrection from the dead. Many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand. On the morrow, Annas, the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, and the rulers, and elders, and scribes, were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked: "By what power, or in what name, have ye done this?" Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, testified clearly that the impotent man was made whole by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, and that there was none other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved. Now when their adversaries saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled, and were grieved; and they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus. And beholding the man which was healed standing with them, they could say nothing against the miracle, as it was manifest to all who were in Jerusalem, they were consumed with rage. Afterwards, having taken counsel, they called the apostles, and commanded them not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John refused to obey their injunction, saying with great boldness: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God; judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." The assembly then sent them away with threats, but not daring

¹ Acts ii. 42---iii. 26.

to punish them, as they perceived that the great miracle which they had just performed had gained them the favour of the people. On regaining their liberty, the apostles went to their own company, and reported all that had befallen them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and, inspired with holy zeal, offered a signal prayer of thanks to God. And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost; and the nets spread by their holy preaching drew many from the abyss of error to the light of faith and righteousness.¹

And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, neither was there any among them that lacked; but they had all things in common. The possessors of houses and lands sold them, and laid the price of them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. The primitive church at Jerusalem shone thus brightly, all its aspirations being fervently directed heaven-ward. The blessing of God sanctified this happy society, whence originated the excellent institutions which have come down to us. Joseph [Joses], who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, that is to say, *the son of consolation*, a Levite, of the country of Cyprus, ever ready in good works, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet. Ananias also sold a field, but kept back part of the price, his wife Sapphira being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet. When this fraud was revealed to Peter by the Holy Ghost, the apostle rebuked the man who endeavoured to deceive him by a lie. Ananias had scarcely heard the apostle's reprimand, when he fell down and gave up the ghost. And about the space of three hours after, his wife, not knowing what was done, came in, and, when Peter questioned her as to the price of the land, she also told a lie, and being rebuked by the apostle, fell down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost. And great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard these things.²

¹ Acts iv. 1—34.

² Acts v. 1—11.

By the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people, and they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch. However, of the rest durst no man join himself to them, but the people magnified them. The number of men and women who believed in the Lord increased more and more. In the streets the sick were laid on couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them, and free them from their infirmities. Great numbers of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns hastened together to Jerusalem, bringing to the apostles the sick and those who were possessed with the devil, and they all recovered the health they desired.¹

The high priest and all they that were with him were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison. But the angel of the Lord opened the prison doors by night, and bringing them forth, said, "Go, stand and speak to the people in the temple all the words of this life." They accordingly entered into the temple early in the morning, and there preached the word of God with boldness. But the high priest and they that were with him called the council together, and sent to the prison to have them brought. The officers truly found the prison shut with all safety, but no man within. At length, they heard that the men of whom they were in search were teaching in the temple. Then the captain and the officers brought them without violence, for they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned. When they had set them before the council, the high priest accused them of having filled Jerusalem with a doctrine which was contrary to their tenets, and opposed to the universal decisions of the elders. The apostles therefore answered, "We ought to obey God rather than man. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, and to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. We are witnesses of those things, and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him." When they

¹ Acts v. 12—16.

heard that, they were cut to the heart, and took counsel to slay them.¹

Then there stood up one of the council, a Pharisee named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, who was held in reputation among all the people, who, causing the apostles to be removed from the assembly, as he wished to be of service to them, then plainly recounted how, only a few days before, Theudas with four hundred followers was brought to nought, and how Judas the Galilean, who drew away much people after him, perished in the days of the taxing, with all his faction. After having adduced examples of this kind, he continued: "And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." Having heard this, they concurred in Gamaliel's opinion, and having recalled the apostles and beaten them, commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Christ. And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.²

In those days, as the number of the disciples was continually on the increase, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said: "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." This advice was unanimously adopted, and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, Philip and Prochorus, Nicanor and Timotheus, Parmenas and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch; and set them before the apostles, who, when they had prayed, laid their hands on them. The number of the disciples

¹ Acts v. 17—33.

² Acts v. 34—42.

multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.¹

Stephen, full of grace and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. The Jews, therefore, moved with envy, rose up against him, and disputed with him, but were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spoke. Then they suborned false witnesses, who asserted that they had heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and arresting him, brought him before the council, and began to accuse him. And all that sat in the council saw his face, as it had been the face of an angel. Being examined by the high priest, Stephen made an eloquent reply, and boldly unfolded the history of the fathers with great wisdom, expatiating fitly on the merits of Abraham, Moses, and the other patriarchs, and concluding with an account of many great events in a few words. He then rebuked the unbelievers, and those who despised the law, calling them plainly stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, who always resisted the Holy Ghost, and persecuted the prophets. When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and gnashed on him with their teeth. But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into heaven and saw the glory of God, and said: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet whose name was Saul. And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." And he kneeled down and cried with a loud voice: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." And when he had said this, he fell asleep in the Lord.² This happened in the second year of our Lord's ascension, on the seventh of the calends of January [December 26]. Devout men then carried the corpse of the first martyr to Gamaliel's country

¹ Acts vi. 1—7. Our author, in his list of the seven deacons, inserts Timotheus instead of Timon.

² Acts vi. 8—vii. 60.

house, which is called Caphargamala, where they buried him with respect, and made great lamentation over him. Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Abibas, were afterwards interred in the same spot. This great treasure remained concealed there for three centuries, until the priest Lucian discovered it by a revelation from God; and John, bishop of Jerusalem, ordered it to be carried to that city, in the seventh year of the reign of the emperor Honorius [A.D. 415].¹

After Stephen was stoned, a great persecution arose against the church at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. But during this dispersion, the disciples, strengthened by the Holy Ghost, passed into several countries, and there preached the word of God. Then Philip preached Christ in Samaria, and wrought before his hearers many wonderful works in the name of Christ, healing the paralytic, the lame, and those possessed with a devil. The Samaritans gave heed with one accord unto the things which Philip spake, and received the true faith with great alacrity. Then Simon Magus (who had long bewitched the people of Samaria, and blinded them with his sorceries to such a degree that these deluded men looked upon him as some great one, and called him the great power of God) believed also when he heard Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God. Being baptized in company with other men and women in the name of Jesus Christ, Simon continued with Philip, and beholding the signs and great miracles which were wrought, marvelled much at things so extraordinary.²

Now when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Then laid they their hands on those who were baptized, and they received the Holy Ghost.³ Hence proceeds the institution of the church, that, after the catechumens have

¹ Our author is mistaken as to the time of St. Stephen's martyrdom, which happened only about nine months after our Lord's death. As to the discovery of his relics in 415, see book i. p. 106, and note p. 107.

² Acts viii. 1—13.

³ Acts viii. 14—17.

received the sacrament of baptism from the priest, the bishop shall lay hands on them, offering up prayers in their behalf, and anointing them with the chrism; and thus the confirmation of those who are baptized is completed by the gift of the sevenfold graces of the Holy Spirit. When Simon saw that, through the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, "Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." But Peter said unto him: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." But Simon, making light of the apostle's words, left him, and became an apostate, and for a long time provoked the anger of God by his innumerable crimes. The apostles, when they had spoken the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel in many parts of Samaria.¹

At the command of an angel of the Lord, Philip went to meet Candace, the eunuch who had the charge of all the treasure of the queen of the Ethiopians, as he was returning from Jerusalem; and having mounted the chariot, sat by him, and expounded to him the book of the prophet Isaiah which he was reading; and commencing with the prediction of the slaughter of the unresisting Lamb, preached unto him Jesus. The eunuch, listening to him with pleasure, readily comprehended and believed him, and, as soon as they found water, was baptized; and then returned to his own country, rejoicing in his renewal by holy regeneration. But the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, who preached the gospel in all the cities from Azotus to Cæsarea.²

¹ Acts viii. 18—25. The account given in the Acts of the Apostles ends very differently: "Then answered Simon and said, Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me."

² Acts viii. 26—40. Our author has confused the name of the eunuch with that of the queen of Ethiopia.

Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, desired of the high priest letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that he might be able to make havoc of the church of God, and bring the men and women of the sect of the Nazarenes bound to Jerusalem. As he came near Damascus, a light from heaven shone about him. Falling to the ground, he heard the Lord rebuke him; he forthwith repented, and his conversion was profitable both to himself and many others. Being led into Damascus by his companions, who heard indeed the voice of the Lord talking with Saul, but saw no one, he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink. Ananias, whom the Lord sent to him, put his hands upon him, comforted him, restored his sight, and baptized him. Thus Saul, who before had ravened as a wolf, and was a cruel persecutor of the church, became not only a lamb, but fearless as a ram, a chosen vessel, and the teacher of the Gentiles. He immediately entered the synagogues, and preached Jesus, that he is the Son of God, to the great amazement of all present, who remembered the bigotry with which in times past he had zealously followed the traditions of the fathers.¹

Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus. But his faithful testimony roused their implacable hatred against him; so much so, that a short time after they narrowly searched for him, intending to kill him, and placed sentries day and night at the gates of the city, to prevent his escape. But the disciples, discovering the schemes of his enemies, defeated their projects by letting him down by the wall, in a basket, during the night. When Saul was come to Jerusalem, he endeavoured to join himself to the disciples; but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, brought him to the disciples, and related to them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and told them all the other things that had happened, and Saul faithfully attached himself to the disciples. He, therefore, returned thanks to God, and continued with them coming in and going out, doing every thing boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus. He disputed against the

¹ Acts ix. 1—21.

Grecians, confounded the Jews, and by God's help refuted them all. The leaders among them, thus baffled in argument, were so enraged at Saul, that they tried to kill him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cesarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, were filled with the comfort of the Holy Ghost; and the multitude of believers increased.¹

The apostle Peter healed at Lydda a man sick of the palsy, named Eneas, who had kept his bed eight years. And all that dwelt in Lydda and Saron, when they witnessed this miracle, turned to the Lord. At Joppa, Tabitha, full of good works and alms-deeds, died, and was laid by the brethren in an upper chamber. The disciples, hearing that Peter was at Joppa, which was not far from Lydda, sent unto him two men, desiring him to come to them. As soon as he received the message of the brethren, he humbly obeyed the summons. When Peter was come, all the widows stood round him weeping, and showing the coats and garments which Dorcas made for them. But Peter put them all forth, and kneeled down, and prayed; and turning to the body said, "Tabitha, arise." And she opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter, she sat up, and he, giving her his hand, lifted her up, and presented her alive to the saints and widows. This miracle was known throughout all Joppa, and many believed in the Lord!²

Cornelius, a centurion of the cohort, called the Italian band, a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, was constantly employed in acts of charity and prayers for his eternal welfare. This man saw plainly in a vision, about the ninth hour of the day, an angel of God, and as he regarded him with deep awe, heard him say, "Cornelius, thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God." The angel then commanded him to send for Simon Peter, who would give him saving advice. He therefore immediately obeyed the order, and sent three men to Peter. On the morrow, as they drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the house-top to pray, about the sixth hour. While he was fasting, and his thoughts were dwelling

¹ Acts ix. 22—31.

² Acts ix. 32—42.

on heavenly things, he saw in a trance heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet, knit at the four corners, and let down from heaven to the earth, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, saying, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat." But Peter said, "Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean." And the voice spake unto him again the second time, "What the Lord hath cleansed, that call not thou common." This was done thrice, and the vessel was immediately received up again into heaven. By this revelation the conversion of the Gentiles through the four climates of the world, in every language and nation, was divinely intimated to Peter; and he was plainly taught by God himself not to reject any one who wished to be converted. Re-assured and joyful, he hospitably received in the house of Simon the tanner the messengers of Cornelius, and on the following day accompanied them to Cæsarea of Palestine. On his arrival there, he found Cornelius, with his kinsmen and intimate friends expecting him, and as they were ready to hear him preach and obey his words, he kindly complied with their wishes.¹

Peter, therefore, opening his mouth, said: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. He sent his word unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all." When Peter had proclaimed these and many other things, respecting the advent of our Saviour and eternal life, and had supplied the thirsty souls with copious draughts of the water of life from the fountain of heavenly doctrine, the Holy Ghost fell on all who heard the word, and suddenly conferred upon them the gift of languages. Then Peter, to the great surprise of those of the circumcision who had accompanied him, baptized Cornelius and all those who believed with him.²

In compliance with the invitation of his distinguished

¹ Acts x. 1—33.

² Acts x. 34—48. There is a slight difference in the two accounts. Here we have St. Peter baptizing the centurion and his friends, in the Acts we are told that the apostle commanded them to be baptized.

converts, Peter remained some days at Cæsarea, and having confirmed them in the faith, went up to Jerusalem, where he related to his fellow apostles the conversion of the Gentiles. Then certain men that were of the circumcision, contended with him, saying, "Why wentest thou in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them?" But Peter began to explain to them, in regular order, how, while fasting and praying in the city of Joppa, he had seen a vision in a trance, wherein God showed him the calling and conversion of the Gentiles, and promised his aid; giving them, further, a simple account of all that had happened. When they heard these things, they held their peace; and being full of brotherly love, praised and glorified God, who saves even Gentiles through repentance. The faithful of Cyprus and Cyrene, and others, who were scattered abroad by the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but Jews. But when they were come to Antioch, they made known the Lord Jesus to the Greeks, and a great number believed and turned to the Lord. The church which was in Jerusalem hearing this, rejoiced in the Lord, and sent forth Barnabas, a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, who, when he came to Antioch, and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and having comforted the disciples, departed to Tarsus, to seek Saul. From thence they both went together to Antioch, where they frequented the church a whole year, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.¹

Then one of the prophets who came from Jerusalem, of the name of Agabus, predicted by inspiration that there would be a great dearth, upon which Saul and Barnabas, having received from their brethren the contributions intended for the relief of the saints, were despatched to Jerusalem.²

Tiberius Cæsar reigned about twenty-two years. In the eighteenth year of his reign, as history correctly states, our Lord Jesus Christ suffered on the cross, rose again from the dead, performed, in an ineffable manner, many miracles,

¹ Acts xi. 1—26. This famine, which is mentioned before, book i. pp. 85, 86, was predicted A.D. 43, began in 44, and continued to desolate the East for several years.

² Acts xi. 27—30.

which becoming known far and wide throughout the world, were the subject of a report from Pilate to Tiberius; adding, that on account of the innumerable wonders effected in his name, Christ was already looked upon as a God. Tiberius informed the senate of all that had come to his knowledge. But this body, we are told, as Tertullian writes in his *Apology*, showed nothing but contempt for Christ, because the judgment of this affair had not been referred at first to it, but the decision of the mob had anticipated its authority. For, according to an ancient law, no one could be considered a god amongst the Romans, if the title was not confirmed by a decree of the senate. Moreover, as Eusebius of Cæsarea assures us, in the second book of his "*Ecclesiastical History*," what had taken place was necessary to prevent our thinking that the divine power has any need of the support of human laws. As we have just stated, the senate refusing to acknowledge Christ, Tiberius maintained his own opinion, and forbade any one from offering molestation to the Christians.¹ Divine Providence, no doubt, inspired the emperor with this determination, in order that, at first, the preaching of the gospel might be universally extended without opposition. The consequence was that suddenly, like light flashing from heaven, or the rays of the rising sun, the word of God illuminated the whole world with the brightness of its divine light, that the prophecy might be accomplished, which said, "Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world."² From that time, in every town, and village, an immense number of people congregated in the churches, as the sheaves in harvest-time are crowded into the barns. All those who were held by the bonds of a deadly superstition, handed down to them by their fathers, now freed from their tyrannical masters by receiving the knowledge of the word of God, through the teaching of Christ, and by wit-

¹ Tiberius, as before remarked, reigned little more than twenty-two years and a half after the death of Augustus. His prohibition of persecuting the Christians, if it really did take place, must have been issued A.D. 35; but there is some difficulty in crediting it, notwithstanding all the documents respecting it alleged by Turtullian and St. Justin as authentic.

² Psalm xviii. 5. Rom. x. 18.

nessing the miracles performed in his name, turned to the one true God and Lord, their Creator, repenting of their old errors which they faithfully confessed.

On the death of Tiberius, Caius Caligula ascended the throne, but did not fill it quite four years. He gave the government of Judea to Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and, at the same time, conferred upon him the tetrarchates of Philip and Lysanias, to which he also shortly afterwards added that of Herod. This same Herod was the author of the death of John the Baptist, and had treated the Lord with derision a short time before his passion. The emperor, after having tormented him in many ways, banished him for life to Spain, as Josephus, the famous historian of the Hebrews, relates in his writings.¹

At this time Philo the Jew, a most celebrated writer, who stands in the first ranks among those who have studied the philosophy of the Greeks, bequeathed to posterity glorious monuments of his learning. Among other things, he describes the cruelty and folly of Caligula, who carried his pride to such a pitch that he aspired to be worshipped as a god, and profaned the sanctuary at Jerusalem by setting up idols in the temples. In addition to this, the Jews, in punishment for their daring and heinous cruelties to Christ, suffered fearful massacres and tribulations, as the learned men above named, Philo and Josephus, relate in their works. Indeed, from the time they committed the impious crime, they were constantly exposed to the fury of seditions, and continually the victims of war and murder, until at last their ruin was complete at the siege of Jerusalem by Vespasian. Pilate, who, in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, had been named procurator of Judea, and had pronounced sentence of death on Christ, suffered such persecution by the orders of Caius, that he killed himself with his own hand. During this reign, Matthew, who preached in Judea, wrote his gospel in the Hebrew tongue.²

¹ See before, book i., page 85. [16 or 26 March, 37—January 24, 41.]

² The account given by Philo of the follies, the cruelties, and the impieties of Caligula, in connexion with the Jews, may be seen in his work, *De Virtutibus, sive de legatione ad Gaium*. This mission took place in the year 40. The attempt of Caligula to have his statue raised in the temple at Jerusalem was made in September of that year, although

Caius Cæsar having been put to death, Claudius reigned thirteen years and eight months. During his reign a frightful famine desolated the whole world, as Luke tells us the prophet Agabus predicted. About that time, during the famine which happened under Claudius, Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. Then James, the son of Zebedee, an apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, visited all Judea and Samaria, and performed many miracles by the power of Christ. He disputed in the synagogues with the unbelievers, and expounded the Holy Scriptures, proving that every thing which had been predicted by the prophets, was fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hermogenes, the magician, when he heard how highly James was spoken of on account of his virtues, was filled with envy, and sent his disciple Philetus to watch the motions of the apostle. Attended by a few pharisees, Philetus tried to oppose James, and to shake the truth of his preaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the apostle persisted with confidence in the Holy Spirit, and proving the falsehood of his adversary's assertions shewed from the sacred scriptures that Jesus of Nazareth was the true Son of God. Returning to Hermogenes, Philetus bestowed the highest praises on James, honestly admitted the truth of his statement respecting the true faith, extolled him as invincible in argument, and published abroad the numerous miracles he had seen or heard of. He ended his narrative by advising his master to go with him immediately to the apostle to entreat his favour and number themselves among his disciples. But Hermogenes was so much incensed, that he put Philetus in bonds, and he was unable to move. As soon as the apostle was apprized by the son of Philetus of this treatment, he sent his handkerchief to him, and commanded him to touch it in the name of the Lord. This done, Philetus was delivered from the bonds of the magician, and hastening to James in great joy, laughed at these dia-

Philo places it in the spring. The same year Pilate appears to have killed himself in despair at his disgrace, while, as it is supposed, he was in exile at Vienne, in Dauphiny; and it is reckoned that about this time St. Matthew composed his gospel in Hebrew, or rather Syro-Chaldaic; and it was immediately translated into Greek.

bolical sorceries. However, the magician, seriously grieved, called up the demons by his nefarious art, and commanded them to bring to him James and Philetus in chains. But the devils, as soon as they made their appearance in the air, began to howl, complaining, with horrible groans, that the angel of God had bound them with chains of fire which caused them excruciating pain. At last, being set free by order of the apostle, they went back to Hermogenes, and, in turn binding his hands behind with cords, led him thus bound before James.

The blessed apostle rebuked the magician, telling him that the society of demons was a detestable thing, and ruinous to man: he then ordered Philetus to untie the cords with which the magician, who stood before him humiliated and confounded, was bound. Thus liberated, he seized the apostle's staff to defend himself against the fury of the demons, and ordered his disciples to bring from his house, on their shoulders, several coffers full of books. He then began to throw the books into the fire, but in compliance with the commands of the apostle, he filled the coffers with stones and lead, and cast them into the sea, lest the smell arising from the combustion of polluted things should do injury to those who were unaware of their witchcraft. Hermogenes, thus delivered from the burthen of magic, returned to the apostle, and humbly embracing his feet, manifested sincere repentance to God; and, attaching himself to the blessed James, obeyed him in all things. He thus began to attain such a state of perfection in the fear of God, that the Lord through him wrought several miracles, by witnessing which many persons turned to the Lord, renouncing their errors and forsaking their evil deeds.

The Jews, persevering in their malice, when they saw that the magician, whom they considered invincible, and his friends, had become believers in Christ, offered money to Lysias and Theocritus, the centurions of Jerusalem, who arrested James, and committed him to prison. The apostle was brought with great tumult into the judgment-hall, where all admired his confidence in the Lord. Being questioned by the Pharisees, he returned excellent answers, and commented on the holy scriptures with wisdom and eloquence. He proved from them irrefragably Christ's

birth from a pure virgin, his passion and resurrection, and all the rest as confessed by the Catholic church. The apostle concluded his discourse with such power, that all who were present believed, confessed their sins, and became faithful adherents to the church of God.

A few days afterwards, Abiathar, the chief priest, perceiving that so great a multitude believed in the Lord, was grieved to the heart, and by giving money to the people, stirred up a violent tumult; the result of which was, that the scribe Josias put a cord round the neck of the apostle, and dragged him to the palace of king Herod, son of Aristobulus. The king, wishing to please the Jews, ordered that he should be beheaded. While James was on the way to the place of execution, he saw a man, afflicted with the palsy, lying on the ground, who begged him with faith to heal his infirmity; the apostle said to him, "In the name of my crucified Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I am led away to be beheaded, rise up sound in every limb, and bless your Saviour." The palsied man immediately got up, and rejoicing at being able to run, began to bless the Lord. At this sight, Josias threw himself at the apostle's feet, and humbly implored his pardon.

James, perceiving that the heart of the scribe was visited by the grace of God, rejoiced, and Josias confessed the Lord Jesus Christ, the true son of the living God. Then Abiathar ordered him to be detained while the bystanders beat him in the face with their hands, and having sent to Herod a report of what had happened, requested permission to behead the new convert also. When James had embraced the neophyte, he laid his hand on his head, and blessed him, making the sign of the cross upon his forehead. Josias, thus perfected in the faith, was beheaded with the apostle, and the Almighty Emmanuel granted them both an eternal reward.

The martyrdom of the blessed apostle James, the brother of John the great Evangelist, having been consummated on the 8th of the calends of August [the 25th of July], the day on which the devotion of the church celebrates his festival, seven disciples who had been instructed in the true faith by him, and were present at his passion, by divine inspiration, placed his body on board an old ship, and com-

mitted themselves to the sea, without a pilot, without rigging, but full of confidence in God's providence. They arrived in a miraculous manner on the coast of Spain, and being well received by the king of Gallicia, were the first to preach the faith and religion to the Spanish nation, and gave their master an honourable burial. Many miracles were there effected through the merits of St. James the apostle, and the inhabitants of the whole province soon embraced the faith of Christ. The canons of the cathedral church watch with veneration the precious body of the apostle; and devout Christians, from every quarter of the globe, flock thither, where they meet to implore the mercy of God through the intercession of the apostle.¹

King Herod, called Agrippa by Josephus, finding that the execution of James was acceptable to the Jews, put Peter also in prison, and delivered him to the custody of four quaternions of soldiers. Peter, therefore, was kept in prison, as they intended after Easter to bring him forth to the people, to put him to death. The prayers of the church ascended incessantly to the Divine Majesty, beseeching him that the young flock might not be deprived of the guardianship of its pious shepherd. The Lord, in his clemency, listened to the prayer of his spouse and loving handmaid on behalf of her protector. Heavenly aid was not wanting to the church, and Herod's cruel designs were provided against and frustrated. Peter was sleeping at night between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door kept the prison; when the angel of the Lord came upon him, surrounded with light, and smote him on the side, and raised him up, saying, "Rise up quickly." Immediately

¹ All that is known with any certainty of St. James the Great is, that he was the first of the apostles who shed his blood for the faith, having been beheaded by Herod Agrippa some time before the passover. The circumstances of his martyrdom, related by our author, are completely apocryphal, and the persons introduced supposititious, including the high-priest Abiathar, who never existed but in the days of David. The whole of this legend is merely an extract, sufficiently exact, from the fourth book of the "Apostolic History" of the Pseudo-Abdias, printed in the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* of J. A. Fabricius.

If the relics of this apostle were really translated to Compostella, which is very doubtful, it could not have happened before the seventh or eighth century. It is certain that in the ninth they had already acquired a great reputation, and were highly venerated.

the chains fell from off his hands, and, taking his girdle, binding on his sandals, and casting his garment about him, he followed the angel, passing through the guards, unto the iron gate which opened to them of its own accord. At first he thought that all this had happened in a dream; but when the angel had departed from him, Peter came to himself, and, perceiving the truth, returned thanks to his deliverer for his escape.¹ He then went to the brethren who were assembled in the house of Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, and as he knocked at the door, a damsel, named Rhoda, went to see who was there. When she knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for gladness, but ran in, and told how Peter stood before the gate. At length, having obtained admission, he cheered the drooping spirits of the astonished disciples, and declared unto them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison, and, immediately departing, retired to another place. His escape caused great commotion among the soldiers, and, as they could not discover where he was, King Herod was greatly incensed with the guards. However, his cruel treatment of the apostle was not suffered to remain long unpunished; but the avenging hand of God was quickly upon him, as Luke tells us in the "Acts of the Apostles," and Josephus in the nineteenth book of his "Antiquities." For on his going to Cæsarea, anciently called the Tower of Strabo, on a set day, he entertained the citizens with public shows, in honour of the emperor. Splendidly arrayed in apparel admirably embroidered with gold and silver, he proceeded to the theatre, and sitting upon his throne, made an oration to the people, who shouted that it was not the voice of a man but of a god. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and five days afterwards he expired, eaten of worms.²

Agrippa, the son of Herod, reigned twenty-six years,³ that

¹ Acts xii. 3--12.

² Acts xii. 13--23. The death of Herod Agrippa certainly happened A.D. 44, shortly after the miraculous deliverance of St. Peter.

³ It might be supposed from our author's mode of expression, that Agrippa succeeded his father; but it was Herod, his uncle, he succeeded in the kingdom of Chalcis and the custody of the temple, A.D. 49. Three years afterwards he received in exchange the tetrarchate of Philip, together

is to say, until the extermination of the Jews. He lived in peace with the Romans and Christians, and the word of God grew and multiplied.

There were in the church at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers, viz. Barnabas, and Simeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen, foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said: "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus. At Salamine they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews, and travelled over the island as far as Paphos.¹

There the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man, called for Barnabas and Saul, and having thankfully heard the word of God, believed. The apostle then struck Elymas the sorcerer blind for a season, because he withstood the doctrine of the faith. Saul now justly gained the name of Paul, from the first among the gentiles whom he brought into subjection to the faith, as Scipio was surnamed Africanus after he conquered Africa. They then repaired to Perga in Pamphilia, and afterwards to Antioch in Pisidia, where they went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and sat down. After reading the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue having granted permission, Paul stood up, and, beckoning with his hand for silence, admirably reviewed the history of the patriarchs, and proved clearly that the promises of God, made long before by the prophets, were now fulfilled in Christ.²

The next sabbath-day almost the whole city came to hear the word of God, but the most bigoted of the Jews used their earnest endeavours to oppose the preaching of the apostles by their blasphemous outcries. Then Paul and Barnabas boldly exclaimed: "It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you; but seeing that ye put it from

with that of Lysanias. After the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) he came to reside at Rome, where he died in the year 90.

¹ Acts xiii. 1—6. (A.D. 42 or 44.)

² Acts xiii. 7—43. (A.D. 44 or 45.)

you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying: 'I have set thee to be a light of the gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.'” When the gentiles heard this, they were glad, and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. But the Jews raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coast. Then, filled with joy, they came to Iconium, and preached in the synagogue both to the Jews and Greeks. Remaining in that city for some time, they laboured boldly for the glory of God, who worked signs and wonders by their hands. But the unbelievers, both gentiles and Jews, insulted them in their rage, and attempted to stone them. But they fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the whole region that lieth round about, and there they preached the gospel; and their doctrine caused a great commotion among the whole population.¹

At Lystra, a lame man, who had never been able to walk, having heard Paul speak, called upon the name of the Lord Jesus, was immediately healed, and, leaping up full of faith, glorified the Lord. When the people saw what Paul had done, they were struck with wonder, and exclaimed, in the speech of Lycaonia: “The gods are come down to us, in the likeness of men.” And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius. Then the priest of Jupiter and the people would have offered sacrifice to them, but the apostles immediately ran in among the people, rending their clothes, and humbly gave the glory of the miracle to the Lord. But although they thus humbled themselves, they could scarcely restrain the people from doing sacrifice unto them. And there came suddenly thither Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people to stone Paul; so that they drew him out of the city, supposing him to be dead. But while the disciples stood round him, he rose up and came into the city, and the next day he departed to Derbe. Some time after, the two apostles returned again to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, and passed through Pisidia, preaching every where the word of life, and strengthening the souls of the disciples by their exhortations; and when

¹ Acts xiii. 44—xiv. 6. (A.D. 45.)

they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord. From Pamphilia they went down into Attalia, and thence sailed to Antioch.¹

There they abode a long time with the disciples. Then certain men, which came down from Judea, persuaded the believing gentiles to be circumcised and observe the law of Moses. Paul and Barnabas opposed this teaching, and were sent, by unanimous consent, to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to have the question determined. Passing through Phenice and Samaria, they published the conversion of the gentiles, and caused great joy unto all the brethren. At Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and declared all things that God had done with them. However, as certain of the sect of the Pharisees, which believed, were strongly inclined to Judaize, Simon Peter, James, and the other elders handled with great zeal the question proposed to them, and at last decided, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that chosen and experienced brethren should be sent to the gentiles, entrusted with a letter requiring them to cast off all other burdens, except abstaining from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.²

Paul, therefore, and Barnabas, with Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, were sent to Antioch, and delivered the epistle of the apostles and elders to the multitude of believers among the gentiles, who, when they had read it, rejoiced for the consolation. Judas and Silas, being also prophets, comforted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them, and after a while returned in peace to Jerusalem. Notwithstanding, Paul and Barnabas preached the word of the Lord for some time at Antioch. On their departure from thence, they separated; Barnabas, with Mark and John, embarked for Cyprus, while Paul, having chosen Silas for his companion, went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches, and commanding them to observe the commands which the apostles and elders had given. He then came to Derbe and Lystra, and there, to obviate the subtle scruples of the Jews, circumcised Timothy, who

¹ Acts xiv. 7—25. (A.D. 45, 46.)

² Acts xiv. 26—xv. 29. (A.D. 50.)

was the son of a gentile. Passing through Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia, he came down to Troas, and, warned by a vision in the night, crossed over into Macedonia. He preached at Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, where Lydia, a seller of purple, who worshipped God, listened to the things which were spoken of Paul, and believing, and being baptized with her household, she constrained the apostles, by her repeated entreaties, to lodge with her.¹

As Paul, with his companions, was going forth to prayer, he was met by a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, who brought her masters much gain by sooth-saying. This girl followed them exclaiming, "These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation." Having done this for many days, Paul being grieved, said to the spirit: "I command thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her." And he came out the same hour. But when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they were in a great rage, and caught Paul, and Silas, and drew them into the marketplace unto the rulers, and accused them of causing disturbances in the city by introducing customs foreign to the manners of the Romans. The excited populace also joining in the attack upon these innocent men, they were scourged, and, by order of the magistrates, thrust into the inner prison, with their feet made fast in the stocks. At midnight, Paul and Silas prayed and sang praises unto God; and soon received his special assistance. For suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bonds were loosed. At this sight, the gaoler was terrified beyond measure, and having heard from the lips of Paul the grounds of his faith, believed and was baptized with all his household. The magistrates of the city feared, when they heard that the apostles were Romans, and, releasing them from prison, desired them to depart out of the city. Being set free, they went to the house of Lydia, and then departed for Thessalonica by way of Amphipolis and Apollonia. At Thessalonica, on three sabbath-days, Paul entered the Jews' synagogue, and publicly

¹ Acts xv. 32—xvi. 15. (A.D. 51, 52.)

reasoned with them out of the scriptures, alleging that "Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ." Many, both Jews and gentiles, believed and joined the company of Paul and Silas. But the bigoted Jews, moved with envy, stirred up the multitude against them, and accused Jason and the other brethren, whom they drew before the rulers of the city. But the rulers, when they had taken security of Jason, and of the other, let them go. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea; and thence, as the Jews had raised tumults there also, the brethren conducted Paul to Athens. Here he waited for Silas and Timothy, whom he had left at Berea. Meanwhile, he disputed in the synagogue with the Jews and devout persons, and preached in the market-place every day to those who came to hear him. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans and Stoics disputed with him. For the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing. Then Paul, standing in the middle of the Areopagus, rebuked the Athenians for their idolatry and superstition, and began to speak of the altar on which he had found an inscription: "To the unknown God." These words he took for the text of his expected discourse, and announced to them the true God, who, in former times, was unknown to the world; then, saying much in a few words, he preached earnestly the faith, and the hope of the resurrection.¹

Then Dionysius the Areopagite, with his wife Damaris, and a few others, clave unto the apostle and believed his words. Paul afterwards departed from Athens and came to Corinth, where he testified to the Jews and the Greeks that Jesus was the Christ, and earnestly devoted himself to the ministry of preaching; and he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath. Meanwhile Silas and Timotheus arrived from Macedonia. Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, convinced by the arguments of Paul, believed and was baptized, with all his house, and many of the Corinthians. And Paul entered into a certain man's house named Titus the Just, whose house joined hard to the synagogue.

¹ Acts xvi. 16—xvii. 31. (A.D. 52.)

Obedient to the commands of God made known to him by a vision in the night, Paul continued there a year and six months, teaching constantly the word of God. There lived at Athens a Jew, of the name of Aquila, born in Pontus, and his wife Priscilla; Paul, being a tent-maker as well as Aquila, assisted them in their labours, and thus gained a living by the work of his own hands. Paul then took leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and came to Ephesus. He then went to Cesarea, and thence came to Antioch; and after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over the country of Galatia and Phrygia strengthening the disciples.¹

CH. II. *Life of St. Peter, from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Recognitions of St. Clemens Romanus.*

THUS far I have made brief extracts from the history of the primitive church as related by Luke in the *Acts of the Apostles*, as far as the account of Paul's baptizing at Ephesus, in the name of the Lord Jesus, those disciples who had before received the baptism of John. He afterwards remained there for three months with those who, filled with the Holy Ghost, spake with tongues and prophesied; he himself continually setting forth the kingdom of God, to the profit of many: and then departing thence, for the next two years he preached the gospel boldly in every part of Asia, and performed in the name of Jesus Christ a number of miracles on the sick and demoniacs.² I must now have recourse to other works, and collect some short notices of the apostles generally, from authorities which are considered authentic, and are used by the church.

The Creator of all things only knows the degrees of rank and the respective merits of the apostles; and He, who searches the secrets of the human heart, has apportioned to each the rewards of his labour. The word apostle signifies *sent*; for Christ sent them to preach the gospel throughout the world, in order that, as fishermen's nets haul shoals of fishes from the depths of the sea, the apostle's preaching might draw from the pit of perdition to the light of life,

¹ Acts xvii. 34—xviii. 23. (A.D. 52—55.)

² Acts xix. 1—10. (A.D. 54—57.)

those who were lost in the depths of sin. Their names are these: Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother; James, the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; James, the son of Alpheus, and Philip; Thomas and Bartholomew; Levi, Matthew, and Simon the Canaanite; Judas Thaddeus and Matthias.¹

Peter, called the first, the greatest in dignity, the key-bearer, he who zealously obeyed Christ, and followed him with his whole heart—he it was who filled the highest seat in the company of the apostles. He was the son of Jonas or John, and born at Bethsaida, a village near the lake of Gennesaret, in the province of Galilee. To announce his future dignity and illustrious power, he received three names. The significations of the three words indicated the many virtues vouchsafed to him by Heaven; for Simon means *obedient*, Peter *acknowledging*, and Cephas a *head*.² Thus Simon, by the obedience with which, as soon as he heard the Lord's commandment, he attached himself to him, leaving all things, and ready to follow him to death, rose to the knowledge of the ineffable divinity. Inspired by Heaven, he ardently desired to be acquainted with divine things, above the powers of human intellect, and in the sincerity of his faith loudly proclaimed a glorious confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." He therefore, was honoured above measure by Christ himself, made the head and foundation of the church. The generous Benefactor, who had inspired him divinely with the knowledge of himself, rewarded with the highest rank and authority the faith of a pure heart to which his mouth had given utterance by that confession. "Blessed art thou," said he, "Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven."³

Truly blessed, indeed, is Simon, that is to say, the obedient, who is also called Barjona, that is to say, the son of a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost. "An obedient man," saith Solomon, "boasts his victories."

¹ Acts i. 13, 26. (A.D. 33.)

² We are not aware that Peter is synonymous with *agnoscens* in any language. As for the Syro-Chaldaic word *Cephas*, it is by a mere abuse of its similarity that it can be connected with the Greek word *κεφαλή*, *caput*, a head.

³ Matt. xvi. 16, 17.

He who unremittingly observes the divine commandments is attacked by divers temptations in his daily conflicts with Satan, whom he overcomes by perseverance in the law of God. What, indeed, does the divine law command or teach, but that every man must engage in spiritual warfare, combat the old serpent, who is always lying in ambush for us, and labour diligently to obtain the reward of his heavenly calling? Thus, the brave soldier of the Lord doubtless speaks of his victories, when he returns thanks to God his protector, after triumphing over the enemy, saying with the prophet:—"Thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle; thou shalt throw down my enemies under me;"¹ and others in the same strain. No one can please God the Father by his holy works, if he have not obtained the virtue of obedience through the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Then the Saviour, nobly consummating the reward of Simon's pious confession, said to him:—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." *Petrus*, in Latin, *Cephas*, in Syriac, are names derived in both languages from the word *petra*, a stone, that is, from Christ, who is the chief corner-stone upon which the church is founded. Thus Simon, by his obedience, was prepared to acknowledge the Son of God, a knowledge which not flesh and blood, but the heavenly Father, revealed to him; and therefore Peter was considered, by our Saviour himself, to be worthy of the surname of *acknowledging*. Having afterwards given to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the King of Sabaoth appointed him to be *Cephas*, that is to say, *head of the church*, the prince and sovereign pontiff of the apostles, gifted with the power of binding and loosing, pre-eminent in doctrine and sanctity, exalted by signs and miracles, the first pastor of the flock of Christ in his church, and his special vicar.

Peter preached the word to those of the circumcision for the space of seven years, and performed, during that time, the wonderful works which Luke records in the Acts of the Apostles, as I have mentioned above. He healed, at the Beautiful gate of the Temple, the lame man, aged forty years, and baptized the five thousand Jews who were con-

¹ Psalm xviii. 39.

verted; he punished, with his censorial power, Ananias and his wife Sapphira, who were guilty of deceit and falsehood, and thus gave a terrible warning, to the men of that day and to posterity, of the chastisement to be given for their souls' health. As he passed along the streets, his shadow alone, falling upon the multitude of sick people as they lay in their beds, was sufficient to heal them, so great were the merits and power which Heaven bestowed upon him.

At Lydda he restored to health, in the name of the Lord, the paralytic Eneas, who had kept his bed eight years; and brought to the faith those who saw and wondered at so unheard-of a miracle. At Joppa he raised to life the venerable widow Tabitha, and presented her alive to the saints and widows. The rest of his acts, from Judea to Antioch, and how he repeatedly overcame Simon Magus in his frequent disputes with him, Clemens Romanus, the son of Faustinian, has related in his book of the *Recognitions*, a work which he has also entitled the *Itinerary of Peter*. This author, having abandoned all he possessed at Rome, embarked for Palestine, and met the apostle Peter at Cæsarea Stratonis, his residence being pointed out to him by Barnabas, whom he had hospitably entertained at Rome, and who treated him as a friend and guest worthy of the greatest respect. Clemens was kindly received by Peter, as a son by his father, on account of his regard for both him and Barnabas, and being fully instructed in the faith of the true Prophet, and renewed at the sacred font, he inseparably attached himself to Peter.¹

Peter disputed with Simon Magus at Cæsarea, and after Simon had retired in the evening with a thousand of his followers, he strengthened in the faith those who remained, and, invoking the name of God, healed the demoniacs and the sick.

The next day, the discussion was renewed, and with God's help, Simon was put to silence on many points. At last, as night was approaching, Simon, confounded, left the place with a few adherents, and the people rejoicing, threw

¹ St. Clemens, the disciple and the third successor of St. Peter, died in the year 100, after filling the pontifical chair nine years. The book of *The Recognitions*, attributed to him by our author, was justly rejected as apocryphal even in the time of St. Jerome.

themselves at Peter's feet. The demoniacs and the sick were cured by his prayers, and having heard the doctrine and experienced the mercy of the true God, they retired full of joy. On the third day, Peter established the immortality of the soul, by the truth of his arguments, against Simon, who denied it, and laid bare his wicked principles, by giving proofs of them. The people, indignant, drove the blasphemer from the hall, and even thrust him out of the door of the house; and of the numbers who had been his followers for a long time, scarcely one now ventured to keep company with him. However, Simon loaded the shoulders of his companion with the polluted and execrable instruments of his art, and fearing that, if he were taken, he should come within the grasp of justice, he threw them at night into the sea, and ran away, his attendant refusing to accompany him, because he had by this time found him to be a detestable impostor.

Peter dwelt three months at Cæsarea, ordaining Zaccheus bishop of that city; and baptized on a day of festival an immense number of believers, amounting to ten thousand. From thence he sent twelve brethren after Simon, to follow his track. Sophonias and Joseph, Micheas and Eleazar, Phineas and Lazarus, Elisæus and Benjamin, son of Saba; Ananias, son of Saphra; Rubelus, the brother of Zacchæus; Nicodemus and Zacharias the architect, were selected by the apostle, that he might be assisted in the worship of God by twelve faithful brethren, though relying principally on divine grace, and that by their aid he might follow up Simon Magus and the other enemies of righteousness.

Having completed the three months he spent at Cæsarea, Peter went, by way of Dora, to Ptolemais, and there remained ten days teaching the people the law of God. After this he was also employed in sowing the seed of the divine word at Tyre, Sydon, and Berytus; and then entered Tripoli with a considerable number of the elect, who followed him from each of these cities. At Tripoli he was entertained in the house of Maro with every token of regard from the citizens, who also granted to all the companions of Peter a gratuitous hospitality, marked with the greatest kindness. The following morning an immense multitude crowded into Maro's garden to hear the apostle, who, in the first place,

put to flight the foul spirits which cried out from the bodies they possessed, and after his sermon healed the sick in that place. There, for the space of three months, he sowed abundantly the words of salvation, and baptized Clemens, and several others, at fountains which were in the neighbourhood of the sea; appointing Maro, his host, who was already perfectly prepared in all things, bishop.

Thence he repaired to Antarados, and divided the multitude of believers who followed him into two bodies, ordering Nicetas and Aquilas to conduct them, and go before him, to Laodicea, from fear that such a concourse of persons accompanying him might excite the jealousy of the enemies to the faith. During the journey, Clemens informed Peter, in a familiar conversation, whence he came, described his family, and related the history of his parents. The next day, he visited a neighbouring island, in order to see some pillars of glass¹ of an immense size; and here, thanks to Peter, he recognized his mother Matidia, after a separation of twenty years. Peter healed by his prayers a paralytic woman, who was the hostess of Matidia, and Clemens gave her a thousand drachms as a remuneration for her services.

After this, Peter went to Balancas, and then to Palthos and Gabala, and thus reached Laodicea, where he stayed ten days; during which time the recognition of the mother and her three sons, Clemens, Faustinus, and Faustus, took place. Two of the brothers, who were twins, related, that after being shipwrecked, as they were tossed to and fro by the waves, holding on to a piece of plank, some pirates found them, and taking them on board their boat, sailed with them to Cæsarea, and there sold them under feigned names to a certain woman, who had acted most justly towards them, having educated them as her own children, instructed them in liberal and Greek literature, and, when they had arrived at the proper age, put them to the study of philosophy.

While Peter remained at Laodicea, incessantly occupied as was his custom, in pious works, an old man, named Faustinian, who appeared to be in a state of poverty, went

¹ *Vitreas*. M. Le Prévost proposes to read *viteas*, observing that pillars of *vine-wood*, however large we may suppose them, are less incredible than pillars of glass, *immensis magnitudinis*. The learned editor remarks, that the temple of Juno at Metapontum was supported by pillars of vine-wood.

to him, and began to deny the existence of God, of a providence in this world, and the necessity of divine worship; asserting that every thing was done by mere chance and by generation.¹ His three sons, whom he had not yet recognized, opposed him in the hearing of all the people for three days, and, by their answers, instructed their hearers in many abstruse doctrines.

The first day, Nicetas ably argued that there exists a God who is master of all things, who made the world, and governs it by his providence, a just God, who will reward every man according to his works. On the second day, Aquilas discoursed with eloquence on the just disposal of all things by a God of justice. On the third day, Clemens disputed on the origin of things, inquiring whether all depended upon generation, or whether there was aught in us effected not by the hazard of birth, but by the will of God. It was then that, by a divine motion, without which nothing happens, the obstinate old man and his wife recognized their children, although twenty years had elapsed.

The chief magistrate of the town used his utmost endeavours to detain at his house Peter and the brethren who were with him; and his daughter, who for twenty years had been the prey of a cruel demon, was set free and healed.

At this time, as Faustinian, while on a visit to his friends, Anubis and Appio, who lodged at the house of Simon, was taking his supper with them, his face was transformed by magic art into that of Simon: a circumstance which caused the greatest fear to all his friends, as they dreaded that, by an order of the emperor, he would be taken for the magician, and punished in his room.

After this Peter went to Antioch, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants: he there preached the word of God, restored to health the sick who were brought to him, and healed the people afflicted with the palsy, possessed with a devil, as well as all those who suffered from any kind of accident. The number of the sick was immense. Peter was offering up a prayer to the Lord for them all, in the presence of the people, when suddenly, by the grace of God, an extraordinary light appeared in the midst of the audience, and all who were

¹ "Genesis:" *genitura, fatum, horoscopus*.—Ducange, *Gloss*.

afflicted in any way immediately recovered their health. In consequence, all the inhabitants of Antioch, with one voice, confessed the Lord, and within seven days more than ten thousand souls believing in God were baptized.

Theophilus, who held the highest rank among the great men of the city, was inflamed with so ardent a love for God, that he freely offered the great hall of his own house to be converted into a spacious church.¹ It was consecrated under the name of a church, and an episcopal throne² was erected in it for the apostle Peter by the entire population. Meanwhile Faustinian, laying open his mind to the heavenly mysteries, at the sight of so many miracles threw himself publicly at the feet of the apostle, and, abjuring his ancient errors, requested to be baptized. Peter enjoined him a preparatory fast, baptized him on the following Sunday, and, standing in the midst of the people, made the conversion of Faustinian the subject of a discourse, in which he recounted the events of the convert's life. This account was generally pleasing and useful, and gained for the old man and his family the favour and esteem of the inhabitants of Antioch. The entire city made a happy progress in divine things, and the number of the faithful increasing daily, holy mother church rejoiced in Christ Jesus.³

The blessed apostle Peter filled the see of Antioch for the first seven years, and preached the word in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. Afterwards, Simon Magus having gone to Rome, Peter set in order the church of Antioch, and consecrated Evodius bishop in his place. He then proceeded to Rome,¹ attended by several chosen disciples, and, entering the city in the time of the emperor Claudius, found the juggler, so often mentioned, deceiving

¹ *Basilica*; from a Greek word signifying a royal palace, hall, or court of justice. Every one knows that most of the early Christian churches consisted of such halls converted to religious uses; from whence it arose that in old writers this word is often synonymous with church.

² *Cathedra*, literally a chair or seat; hence "St. Peter's chair," "the see," or "seat of a bishop," and the ecclesiastical phrases, "sat," "filled the see," &c.

³ Our author's quotations from the *Recognitions* of St. Clemens end here: *Recognitionum S. Clementis ad Jacobum fratrem Domini*, libri x.

⁴ This first journey of St. Peter to Rome is generally supposed to have taken place in the year 42; but there are great doubts respecting it.

the people with a variety of phantoms raised by virtue of the diabolical power called a familiar spirit. This impostor was so puffed up with pride, that he set himself up for a god, and even obtained from the Roman citizens the honour of having a statue erected to him, as a god, on the banks of the Tiber, between the two bridges. In fact, Satan had taken entire possession of this insane contriver of all wickedness, who was the first he armed with the weapons of impious heresy to war against the true faith of the church. The Almighty Emmanuel prepared the illustrious leader of his army to contend with him in close combat; I mean Simon Peter, to whom Christ entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and appointed him to be the prince of the apostles and the firm ruler of his church. He, therefore, on his arrival in Rome, dispelled the darkness of falsehood by the brilliant light of truth and justice; and there, as a worthy censor, judging with equity, he filled the see twenty-five years, two months, and three days.¹

When the bright light of the word of God had shone forth in the Roman capital, and the word of truth, which Peter preached, had enlightened the minds of all his hearers, and had caused them so much satisfaction that hearing only did not satisfy those who daily attended, Mark, a disciple of the apostle, was induced by repeated solicitations to compose his gospel, that what the one taught by word of mouth might be committed to writing by the other, and thus transmitted to posterity for the perpetual instruction of the readers. Peter was delighted to find that through the influence of the Holy Spirit, his teaching was appropriated by a kind of pious fraud;² and perceiving in this their faith and piety, he confirmed himself the work of the evangelist, and delivered this Scripture³ to the

¹ It is the common opinion of the church, still current at Rome, that Peter governed that church more than twenty-five years. Unfortunately, there is nothing less authentic, or more easily refuted, than the assertion of this long residence of St. Peter at Rome. What appears most probable, after a careful inquiry, is that he made his first journey to Rome in A.D. 58, and returned there in 65.—*M. Le Prévost*.

² *Religioso se spoliatum furto.*

³ It is a tradition generally received by the church, that St. Mark wrote his gospel from details given him by St. Peter of the actions and words of Jesus Christ; but as this gospel, which is so much

churches to be read for ever; besides which, he composed two epistles which are called canonical.¹ Peter worked manfully in Christ's vineyard, during the reigns of Tiberius Cæsar, Caius Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, nurturing many excellent disciples, and, when they were well imbued with virtue and learning, sending them into different countries. He placed his disciple Mark, whom he loved as a son, first at Aquileia, and then at Alexandria; Martial at Limoges; Apollinaris at Ravenna; Valerius at Treves; and many more in different places, where, in Christ's name, they brought vast crowds of the Gentiles to the light of faith, and having regenerated them placed them in the bosom of our holy mother the church, by the water of holy baptism.

One day when Peter was at Rome, while several of the brethren were at table, Titus said to the apostle, "As thou hast cured all the sick, why dost thou let Petronilla lie suffering from palsy?" The apostle answered, "It is expedient for her that it should be so; but in order that no one may think that I wish, by words, to cloak my inability to heal her, I say to this woman, 'Rise up, Petronilla, and come and serve us.'" She rose up able to minister to them; but, as soon as her attendance was no longer required, he ordered her to return to her pallet. However, when she began to be proficient in the fear of God, not only was she perfectly healed of her own infirmity, but her prayers were the means of restoring health to others.²

shorter than those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, contains only two facts, and those of slight importance, which are not related by the other evangelists, we may be permitted to doubt his having drawn his information from a source which would have supplied a vast number of particulars omitted by the others. At any rate, the account given by our author must be considered altogether apocryphal.

¹ The authenticity of the First Epistle of St. Peter has never been suspected; that of the second was questioned by Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome; but at the present day it is generally admitted.

² The legend of St. Peter which Ordericus has inserted in this chapter, has no claims to a detailed examination. Except the last three paragraphs, it is a tolerably faithful extract from the apocryphal book of *The Recognitions*, already referred to. The foundation of the church of Antioch by St. Peter is generally fixed A.D. 36. His pretended journey to Rome, A.D. 42, has been already commented on. The date of his martyrdom is better established, as having occurred on the 29th of June, 66. As to the

CH. III. *Life and death of St. Paul, compiled from the Acts of the Apostles and ancient legends—with St. Peter's martyrdom.*

PAUL, the illustrious champion of the Almighty, a chosen vessel, the teacher of the Gentiles, and preacher of the truth, who was worthy to fill the twelfth throne among the apostles,¹ and was caught up into heaven to hear the mysteries which man must not repeat,—ought to be worthily extolled and continually honoured by the sons of the church as their learned schoolmaster. He was first called Saul, which means in Hebrew *temptation*; because he began his career by tempting the holy mother church. Having afterwards changed his name, instead of Saul he was called Paul, that is to say, *wonderful*, having been converted in a marvellous manner, from a ravenous wolf into a mild lamb. In Latin Paul may be taken for *little*; wherefore he said publicly, when speaking of himself, "I am the least of the apostles."

Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin, a pharisee of the pharisees, born at Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, but brought up at Jerusalem from his childhood, and instructed in the law of God by Gamaliel. In the second year after our Lord's ascension, while he displayed excessive zeal for the traditions of the elders, and became, therefore, a violent persecutor of the Christians, he went to Damascus, bearing letters from the high priest, commissioning him to persecute even to death all the worshippers of Christ who dwelt there. When, however, he came nigh the city, he was suddenly surrounded by an extraordinary light, and, hearing with amazement the heavenly voice of the Lord Jesus, he fell to the ground; but his salvation was secured, for he arose divested of his former ferocity, and was led by

episode of St. Petronilla, copied from the Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilles, and St. Peter's sending St. Martial to Limoges, St. Mark to Aquileia, St. Apollinaris to Ravenna, and St. Valerius to Treves, they must be considered as entirely apocryphal.

¹ Our author expresses himself incorrectly, and contradicts what he has previously said, when he describes St. Paul as the twelfth apostle. It has already appeared that, long before his conversion, the number of the apostles was filled up by the election of St. Matthias. The truth is, that St. Paul was ordained as apostle of the gentiles, along with St. Barnabas, at

his companions of the journey into Damascus, where, for three days, he was unable to move. At the end of that time, by God's command, he was visited by Ananias, and embraced the faith which he had combated, and, having been baptized, boldly preached it to Jews and Gentiles. Beginning at Jerusalem, he proceeded as far as Illyria, Italy, and Spain;¹ and made known the name of Christ to the inhabitants of many countries who had not yet heard it.

Luke, the evangelist, Paul's companion and fellow labourer, speaks of him to the end of his work with exactness and dignity, pursuing the thread of his history to the omission of others. Arator, also, a sub-deacon of the holy Roman church, has written a second book on this subject, in which he piously made a metrical version of the Acts of the Apostles, in which he related the labours of Paul, his patience in adversity, and the shipwreck he suffered. I have already collected from these works some brief notices respecting him in the preceding pages, but it is by no means an irksome task to recapitulate them to the glory of God.

Saul, who is likewise called Paul, having parted from his companions, in obedience to an admonition of the Holy Ghost, preached at Paphos, where he struck blind Elymas the sorcerer, who resisted the words of the faith, and converted to Christianity the proconsul Paulus. Having entered the synagogue at Antioch, he commanded silence by waving his hand, and related how the people of Israel went out of Egypt by passing through the sea, and spoke of the different miracles which were wrought in the desert. On another sabbath day he rehearsed Christ's passion and resurrection, which he illustrated by passages from the prophets, and increased the flock of the church by a great number of believers.

At Lystra, Paul healed a man impotent in his feet from his mother's womb, who listened with attention to the word of God; but when he saw the ancient superstition of the Lycao-

Antioch, in the year 44, but this mission had nothing in common with that of the twelve apostles properly so called.

¹ We have no account of St. Paul having included Illyrium and Spain in his journeyings. He announced his intention (*Rom.* xv. 24—28) to visit the latter country, but there is nothing to show that he carried it into effect.

nians, who wished to offer sacrifice to him, he rent his clothes, and used eloquence and reason to restrain their zeal.

After much opposition to his preaching, he handled the question raised by the baptized Jews, whether believing Gentiles ought to be baptized before they were circumcised. Paul, therefore, went to Jerusalem with others chosen from among the faithful, and consulted Peter and James, and the other elders, and transmitted an epistle containing their decision that Christians need only abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.

At Philippi he cast an unclean spirit out of a young woman who was a Pythoness, and who gave responses to those who consulted her; the demon being expelled, her covetous masters were deprived of the gains obtained by her divination. They therefore accused Paul before the magistrates, by whose orders he was imprisoned. In the night, the apostle prayed to the Lord of light, and the merciful guardian of his faithful people quickly heard him. For there was a sudden earthquake, and the chains of the prisoners fell from them; and the keeper of the prison having been baptized, with his whole family, Paul and Silas, the servants of the God of Sabaoth, were allowed to go free.

Paul, preaching at Athens, was surnamed by the people there, the sower of the word,¹ and thus received a suitable name from the unbelievers; for his words were a fountain of eternal life to thirsty souls, and he scattered freely the seed of salvation for all who desired to gather it. He disputed with the philosophers, both Epicurean and Stoic, and eloquently proclaimed the true God who was called by the Athenians "The Unknown God." Dionysius the Areopagite, and his wife Damaris,² believed and were baptized; and Paul admitted him among his most intimate friends, on account of his wisdom and love of righteousness. Soon

¹ *Seminiverbius*; in the Greek text of *Acts* xvii. 18, *σπερμολόγος*; in the authorized English version "a babbler."

² It is by no means certain that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius, or St. Denys, the Areopagite, and the text of St. Luke by no means favours the assertion (*Acts* xvii. 34). All that we know for certain of St. Denys, by the testimony of his namesake of Corinth, is that he was bishop of Athens. It appears also that he suffered martyrdom.

afterwards, as Aristides the Athenian tells us, Dionysius was ordained bishop of Athens by the apostle, and after an illustrious life received the glorious crown of martyrdom. Paul went from thence to Corinth, where he found Aquila preaching, with his wife Priscilla; he went to reside at their house, and there practised the art of tent-making, in which they were expert. There also, being admonished by Christ not to cease from preaching, he faithfully obeyed, and many were converted.

At Ephesus, twelve men lately baptized by Paul in the name of the Lord, were filled with the Holy Ghost, and had the gift of divers kinds of tongues. Also, while Paul was healing, in the name of the Lord Jesus, those who were afflicted with various sorts of diseases, seven Jews, the sons of one Sceva, chief of the priests, took upon them to lay their hands on a man who had an evil spirit, calling over him the name of the Lord Jesus, whom Paul preached. But the demon, acting through the man who was possessed, made a public acknowledgment of Jesus and his disciple Paul. He also suddenly rushed upon the unbelieving exorcists, whom he wounded and put to flight. A great number of the Ephesians, having heard the truth preached to them, believed and were baptized. Some of those who used curious arts, burnt their books of magic, the value of which they estimated at fifty thousand pence. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed; and his grace thus strengthening the faithful, the party of the ungodly dwindled and was confounded. But Paul sent Timotheus and Erastus into Macedonia, while he himself stayed in Asia for a season.¹

Demetrius, a silversmith, perceiving that the teaching of Paul induced the inhabitants of Ephesus to forsake the temple of Diana, and grieved that the profits of his trade were reduced to almost nothing, by the idols being condemned to destruction, called together his fellow workmen, and, setting forth their common grievances, stirred up a clamorous tumult of the people. The riotous mob rushed furiously into the theatre, having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions; but their uproar, while they quarrelled among each other, was to no purpose.²

¹ Acts xix. 1—22.

² Acts. xix. 23—40.

Paul, having called the disciples to him, bid them farewell, after exhorting them to persevere in their new career; and then departed to go into Macedonia. He remained three months in Greece. His companions were Sosipater, son of Birrus of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Titicus and Trophimus. After the days of unleavened bread, Paul and Luke sailed from Philippi, and came to Troas in five days; where they abode seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when several of the disciples came together to break bread, as they were listening to a long discourse which Paul, who was ready to depart on the morrow, continued until midnight, a young man, named Eutychus, who sat in a window, fell down from the third loft, overcome by sleep, but was restored to life by the prayers of Paul, to the joy of all beholders.¹

From Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus, and calling the elders of the church, addressed them at length on matters pertaining to the salvation of souls. And when he had finished his discourse he kneeled down and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and when they had embraced each other, the brethren accompanied Paul unto the ship. Then embarking, he came with a straight course unto Coos, and to Rhodes, and from thence to Patara, and, passing through Syria, arrived at Tyre, where he stayed seven days with his faithful friends in Christ. From Ptolemais he went to Cæsarea, and entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, who had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.²

Then came down from Judea a prophet, named Agabus, who bound his own hands and feet with Paul's girdle, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost clearly predicted that the Jews at Jerusalem would bind Paul in the same manner, and would deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. All who heard him began to weep, but Paul said to those who

¹ Acts xx. 1—12. Our author, following Origen, gives the name of Sosipater to the person St. Luke calls Sopater. He makes him the son of Birrus, instead of Pyrrhus; of Gaius of Derbe, he makes two persons, *Gaius*; *Derbeus*. He always writes Titicus for Tychicus.

² Acts xx. 13—xxi. 9. St. Philip, the deacon, who must not be confounded with the apostle of the same name.

besought him not to go up to Jerusalem, "I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."¹

Thus supported by the firmness of his faith, Paul went up to Jerusalem, and related to James and the other elders what things God had wrought among the gentiles by his ministry; and when they heard of the conversion of the gentiles, they magnified God the Creator of all things. The next day Paul entered into the temple to purify himself, and began to perform the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, in order to remove every occasion of scandal to those who were zealous for the laws of their fathers; that thus making himself a Jew among the Jews, he might gain all men. But the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up the people by their malevolent clamours, and laid hands on him. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together; and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple, and forthwith the doors were shut. They then began to beat him, and sought to kill him. Claudius Lysias, the tribune of a cohort, when he heard that all Jerusalem was suddenly in an uproar, immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down to them, and, to prevent the populace from taking the apostle's life, he forcibly rescued him out of their hands, and having bound him with two chains, drew him out of the crowd, and commanded him to be carried into the castle, that he might inquire of him who he was, and what he had done. With the tribune's consent, Paul ascended the stairs, and, speaking to the people in the Hebrew tongue, gave a full account of his conversion, and of his former conversation as a Jew, and offered afterwards the best arguments for his change to the faith of Christ. While he was thus judiciously speaking, the Jews, impatient at the force of his words, began to raise violent clamours, and furiously exclaimed: "Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live." The chief captain, therefore, commanded him to be brought into the castle, and scourged and tortured. Then Paul said unto the centurion that stood by: "Is it lawful to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?"

¹ Acts xxi. 10—13. (A.D. 58.)

The chief captain, after he knew that he was a Roman citizen, was afraid because he had bound him.¹

On the morrow Paul was brought before the council, and standing in the midst defended himself with great ability. But the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall; for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" And they that stood by said, "Revilest thou God's high priest?" Then said Paul: "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest. For it is written: Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people."³ But when Paul perceived that the one part were sadducees, and the other pharisees, he cried out in the council, "Men and brethren, I am a pharisee, the son of a pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question." At these words, there arose a dissension between the two parties, and the multitude was divided. For the sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit; but the pharisees confess both. Some of the pharisees took his part, saying, "We find no evil in this man; but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him."³ . . . And when there arose a great dissension, the tribune, fearing lest Paul should be pulled in pieces by them, commanded the soldiers to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle.²

And the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said: "Be of good cheer; for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." And when it was day, more than forty Jews came to the chief priests and elders, and bound themselves by an oath that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul when on his way to the council. The tribune, hearing of this conspiracy from Paul's sister's son, dextrously defeated the plot of these wicked men. For at the third hour of the

¹ Acts xxi. 14—xxii. 29. (A.D. 58.)

² Exodus xxii. 28.

³ Ordericus omits the concluding words of the sentence: "Let us not fight against God."

⁴ Acts xxii. 30—xxiii. 13.

night, he sent the apostle in chains to Cæsarea under an escort of two hundred soldiers, and threescore and ten horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, and remitted the case to the governor Felix in a letter which he wrote to him. Thus conducted to Cæsarea, Paul was confined in the guard-house of Herod's palace, and after five days was called before the assembly. Ananias, the high priest, was present with the elders of the Jews, and the orator Tertullus framed an insidious accusation against Paul. The accused, with the governor's permission, briefly replied, and by his prudent answer completely refuted all that was laid to his charge. Felix the governor then adjourned the assembly until the arrival of the tribune, and ordered the centurion to treat Paul kindly. And after certain days, Felix came with his wife Drusilla who was a Jewess, and sending for Paul, heard him concerning the faith in Christ Jesus. And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled; but he often sent for him, hoping to obtain money from him. At the end of two years, Portius Festus succeeded Felix, who, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.¹

Not long afterwards Festus went down to Cæsarea, and there commanded the Jews to bring forward their accusation against Paul. In consequence they laid many and grievous complaints against him, which they could not prove, while Paul justified himself in these words: "Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended anything at all." At last, through the under-hand arts of the Jews, and the double dealing of the judge, whose policy it was to conciliate them, Paul found it necessary to appeal to Cæsar. He was also brought before an assembly over which King Agrippa and the governor Festus presided, when, raising his hand, he gave an account of his calling and his faith in Christ, in a very eloquent speech. When it was ended, all present admired his wisdom; and the great men going aside, talked between themselves, saying: "This man hath done nothing worthy of death or of bonds. He might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar." He was, therefore, delivered to Julius, a centurion of the Augustan cohort, one

¹ Acts xxiii. 10—xxiv. 27.

Aristarchus, a Macedonian, and Luke, being his fellow travellers. There were in the ship two hundred and seventy-six souls; the voyage, which violent tempests rendered very dangerous, lasted fourteen days, during which they saw neither sun nor stars; and took no food as they despaired of being saved. Paul had tried to persuade them to winter in Crete, but the earnest advice of the pilot and the master of the ship prevailed with the centurion and soldiers to prosecute the voyage. Their heedless haste induced them to brave the storms of the winter season, and almost the whole of them would have been lost, but for the aid afforded them by the merits of Paul. But they suffered much from terror and fatigue when they were wrecked on the quicksands; and all the tackle of the ship was carried away, and they were forced to throw overboard the wheat and all that burdened the vessel. Meanwhile, the angel of God stood before Paul, and said to him, "Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar; and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee."¹

After the ship had gone to pieces, it was with the greatest difficulty that they reached the island of Mitylene.² And the barbarous people showed them great kindness, and kindled a fire for their comfort, because of the rain and cold. And when Paul was heaping faggots on the fire, a viper came out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. The barbarians, seeing this, cried out that the man was a murderer, and would doubtless soon die. But Paul shook the viper into the fire, and, to the surprise of all, felt no harm.³

Publius, the governor of the island, hospitably entertained the shipwrecked people three days. While there, Paul went to see the father of Publius who lay sick of fever and dysentery, and having prayed over him, laid his hands on him, and healed him. Others also of the islanders who had diseases came to him, and were healed. They therefore treated the shipwrecked crew and passengers with great respect, on account of Paul's merits, and when they departed, supplied them with all that was necessary for their voyage. At the end of three months, they embarked in a ship of Alexandria, which

¹ Acts xxv. 1—xxvii. 24.

² St. Luke calls this island Melita, generally supposed to be the present Malta.

³ Acts xxvii. 25—xxviii. 6.

had wintered in the island, and, by God's guidance, arrived not long afterwards at Rome; when some of the brethren, hearing of Paul's arrival, went out to meet and congratulate him. At Rome Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, in the custody of a soldier; and after three days, he called the chief of the Jews together, and complained to them of his arrest and the ill-treatment he had suffered from their brethren at Jerusalem. He then gave them a faithful account of the true faith which is in Jesus Christ. He dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, preaching to all men the kingdom of God, and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.¹

I have hitherto followed the narrative of St. Luke the evangelist, in the Acts of the Apostles, who, omitting further notice of the other apostles, relates that Paul went to Rome, where, for the space of two years, he preached the word of God without hindrance. He came to Rome in the second year of the reign of Nero, and defended himself before the emperor, who at the commencement of his reign was as yet disposed to be merciful. By God's help, he was set at liberty at the command of Nero, whom, by a figure, he calls "The Lion;" and quitting Rome, he journeyed through the nations of the west, as far as Narbonne, a city of Gaul. It is reported that he there built a church, which he dedicated in honour of the Maccabean martyrs, where is still seen the sign of the cross, marked in oil, which the apostle traced with his thumb on the wall; he then ordained his disciple Paul bishop of that city, who there, after performing many good works, terminated his career by a happy end.²

In the same manner, several others, who had been instructed in the doctrine of the Catholic faith by the holy doctor of the gentiles, shed a wonderful lustre on the church of God, being placed in the chair of authority to govern the people of God in various countries. Luke in Bithynia,

¹ Acts xxviii. 7—31. (A.D. 61—63.)

² The metropolitan church of Narbonne was neither founded by St. Paul nor one of his immediate disciples, but by a person of the same name, one of the seven bishops sent into Gaul, about A.D. 250, as we learn from Gregory of Tours.

Titus in Crete, Carpus at Troas, Timothy and Archippus in Asia, Trophimus at Arles, Onesimus at Ephesus, Sosthenes at Corinth, Tychicus at Paphos, Dionysius the Areopagite at Athens, Epaphras at Colosse, and Erastus at Philippi, spread the nets of faith, and drew the heathen nations from the darkness of ignorance to the light of truth, as fishes are caught from the depths of the sea. Pointing out to others the path of righteousness, they retained them in it by their words and actions. Their names are, therefore, written in the book of life, and all nations will proclaim their wisdom and celebrate their praise.¹

It now becomes necessary for me to speak of the triumphant deaths of the saints, and I shall faithfully continue the thread of my narrative from the materials furnished by the writings of the fathers. I shall have to tell how these glorious princes of the earth, nobly bearing the standard of the true Joshua, re-conquered the land of promise; how they loved each other during their lives, and were not separated in death; how, animated with the same spirit, they fought at Rome against the emperor Nero and Simon the magician; and how, having vanquished the enemy, they received on the same day their heavenly crowns.²

Marcellus, a Roman, son of the prefect Marcus, baptized by the apostle Peter, has described the forwardness of Simon Magus and the simplicity of Peter, in a letter addressed to the holy martyrs Nereus and Achilleus,³ while they were

¹ St. Trophimus, the disciple of St. Paul, is a different person from his namesake, the bishop of Arles, one of the seven bishops mentioned in the preceding note. Ordericus Vitalis has made other mistakes of the same kind in this passage. Thus St. Luke, though he preached in many parts of Bithynia, never settled there, and SS. Carpus and Sosthenes were simply disciples of St. Paul, without any particular mission or ecclesiastical rank. The attributing to Onesimus the bishopric of Ephesus arose from confusing the disciple of the apostle with a bishop who was contemporary with St. Ignatius in 107. Tychicus was not sent to Paphos, but successively to Colosse and Ephesus. As for Erastus, all that is known about him is, that he held the post of treasurer of some city (probably Corinth) before he attached himself to St. Paul.

² Ordericus is speaking particularly of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, though the former parts of the passage may apply to the apostles and martyrs in general.

³ The apocryphal account of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul has been published by Florentinius in his *Notes on the Ancient Martyrology*

banished to the island of Palmaria for the faith of Christ, and daily combated the magicians Furius and Priscus, disciples of Simon Magus with irrefragable arguments for the truth. Marcellus relates that on a certain day, while Simon was disputing with Peter, calling him a magician, and endeavouring to excite the hatred of the Roman people against him, a widow happened to pass with a great crowd, following to the grave her only son over whom she mourned with loud cries. Then Peter said to the followers of Simon, "Approach the bier, and remove the corpse. Whoever restores it to life may be well believed to possess the true faith." When the people had done as he desired, Simon said: "If I should bring him to life again, will you put Peter to death?" The multitude answered: "We will burn him alive!" Then Simon having conjured up his demons, began with their aid to operate on the body, which made a slight motion, and the people, observing it, raised shouts in praise of Simon, and threatened Peter with death. However Peter, having with some difficulty obtained silence, addressed the crowd in these words: "If this body lives, let it speak, walk, take food, and return home. If not, be assured that you are deceived by Simon." Then the people exclaimed with one voice: "If Simon be not able to do this, he shall suffer the punishment which he destined for Peter." Simon now, feigning to be angry, tried to run away; but the crowd caught hold of him, and loaded him with reproaches. Peter, then extending his hands towards heaven, said: "Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto us thy disciples: 'Go, in my name, cast out devils, heal the sick, raise the dead;' restore now this child to life, that all the people here may acknowledge that thou art God, and that there is none other than thou, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, through all ages, Amen." The child immediately arose, and worshipped Peter, saying: "I saw the Lord Jesus Christ commanding his angels thus: 'At the request of Peter, my faithful friend, let that orphan, and only child, be restored to his widowed mother.'" The people

of St. Jerome. Ordericus has borrowed several passages from it in the sequel, as will be observed in passing; but this paragraph, and part of that which follows, is taken from another source, the legend of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. *Act. SS. Mensis Maii*, iii. pp. 9, 10.

now began to exclaim unanimously: "There is but one God, the one that Peter preaches." Simon meanwhile transformed himself into the shape of a dog, and tried to escape; but the populace held him fast, and, as they strove to throw him into the fire, Peter rushed into the midst of the crowd and set him free. "Our Master," he said, "taught us to render good for evil." Simon, therefore, escaped, and went to see Marcellus, whom he had already seduced, and tied up at the entrance of the house an enormous dog, which could scarcely be held fast by the iron chain with which it was bound. "We shall now see," said he, "if Paul, who is accustomed to come to see you, will be able to enter." An hour had scarcely elapsed when Paul appeared at the door, and, making the sign of the cross, unchained the dog, saying: "Go and say to Simon: Cease from employing the services of demons to deceive the people for whom Christ shed his blood." Marcellus, witnessing such wonders, ran to meet Peter, and throwing himself at his feet, received him into his house, from which he expelled Simon with utter contempt. The dog now became gentle towards every one except Simon, whom he continually worried; but, one day, when he had got him under him, Peter ran up to him, exclaiming: "I command thee, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, not to inflict a bite on any part of that man's body." The animal from that moment could not touch one of Simon's limbs, but it so tore his clothes that no part of his body remained covered. Then all the people, and especially the children, ran after him with the dog, and drove him beyond the walls of the town, howling as if they had been in pursuit of a wolf. Unable to bear the scandal of this ignominious treatment, Simon did not venture to make his appearance for a whole twelvemonth; but after that, he made himself known to the emperor Nero, and the rogue thus attaching himself to one of the worst of men, became all the worse for the connexion.

As the end of the apostle's warfare drew nigh, the Lord appeared to his servant Peter in a vision, saying: "Simon and Nero, fully possessed by demons, are plotting against thee. Fear not, for I am with thee, and will grant thee the consolation of seeing Paul my apostle, who to-morrow will enter Rome. In concert with him, thou shalt make war

upon Simon for the space of seven months, and when thou hast conquered, driven away, and cast him into hell, ye shall both come to me crowned as victors. All this took place. Indeed Paul arrived the very next day. Pope St. Linus has related when and how the apostles met, and how they had a conflict with Simon seven months afterwards; with full particulars of their martyrdom in a work written in the Greek language for the use of the eastern churches.¹ From this narrative I propose to make some extracts in the way I have already done, and to compile, in as few words as I can, an abridged account of all the circumstances.

Having learnt that Paul was arrived at Rome, Peter was overjoyed, and immediately rose and went out to meet him. When they saw each other, they wept with delight, remained for a long time locked in a close embrace, and bathed themselves mutually with tears. These two great apostles beginning to preach the word of God, the greater part of the mixed population believed, nor could the infuriated assemblies of Jews or Gentiles make any open resistance to those whom the Holy Spirit had largely endowed with the fulness of all wisdom.

While an innumerable multitude of persons were converted to the Lord by Peter's preaching, it happened that Livia, the consort of Nero, and Agrippina, the wife of the prefect Agrippa, also embraced Christianity; and, in consequence, they separated from their husbands, and vowed to lead a life of chastity for love of the eternal King.

Paul also displayed the lustre of manifold graces, and roused the wonder of the Roman world by signs and wonders, by his great learning, and admirable sanctity.² Having purchased a public garden outside the walls, there, assisted by Luke, Titus, and other faithful members of the church, he discoursed on the word of life. Meanwhile he began to

¹ Ordericus here refers to a pseudonymous work entitled, *D. Lini, pontificum secundi, de sui prædecessoris D. Petri apostoli passione libellus*. . . . *Item de passione D. Pauli libellus alter*. Our author has only made use of this second part. See the *Bibliotheca Patrum maxima*, t. 11, pp. 1—67.

² The preceding paragraph is borrowed from the legend of St. Linus. The next, with those which follow, are extracted from the account attributed to Marcellus.

collect a very great multitude of hearers, and, by God's help, many souls were added to the faith through him; so that the fame of his preaching and holiness was noised throughout the city, and his reputation spread over the whole neighbouring country. Many officers of the emperor's household hastened to hear him preach, and became believers in the Lord Jesus Christ. Some also of the guards of the imperial bed-chamber resorted to him, and, becoming Christians, left the service. Inflamed with inward fervour, they attached themselves to Christ, and refused to return to their ranks in the palace, preferring the glory conferred by the true faith and its virtues, to the profession of arms, riches, and honours. Thus every day the cause of Satan suffered loss, while the triumphs of the faithful increased. Even Seneca, the emperor's tutor, formed so close an intimacy with Paul, finding in him divine knowledge, that he could scarcely live for a moment without conversing with the apostle; and when he was prevented from listening to his words, he sought by an interchange of letters to enjoy the charms of friendly communication, and to profit by his good advice. It was thus that, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, his doctrine spread itself and made itself beloved; so that he taught freely, and was listened to with enthusiasm by his numerous hearers. He disputed with the pagan philosophers and confounded the Jews; and almost all the world submitted to his teaching. Even some of his writings were read to the emperor by his own tutor; a circumstance which made him generally esteemed: the senate also were not indifferent to his merits.

But while these two illustrious apostles thus shed a divine lustre, not only amongst the Romans, but also amongst all who from different countries thronged to Rome, the capital of the world, the elders of the synagogues and some chief men of the gentiles, inflamed with bitter zeal, stirred up the hatred of the turbulent mob against the apostles by their impious accusations. They, therefore, sent Simon Magus to Nero as he was leaving the palace, and commissioned him to prefer false charges against the blessed apostles. Simon began to speak much evil of Peter, declaring him to be a magician and a corrupter of the people. The wicked believed this man, who deluded them with

magical tricks, at which they gaped with ignorant wonder; for at his command a brazen serpent moved, dogs cut in stone barked, bronze statues laughed and walked; while he himself would run and suddenly rise into the air.

As a contrast to these impositions, Peter cured the sick with a word; restored sight to the blind by his prayers; drove away demons by a simple command. Meanwhile he even raised the dead, and drew away all those he could from the pernicious company of the magician. The result was that every religious man detested Simon, while all the wicked men, on the contrary, became his accomplices, and by false testimony accused Peter of crimes which he had not committed. At last these accusations came to the ear of Nero, who ordered the magician to appear before him. When conducted into the emperor's presence, he began to deceive the spectators by illusive tricks, transforming himself into different shapes, so as at one time to appear a boy, the next moment an old man, and at another time a youth. Thus, by the help of Satan, he played his antics in different forms; a sight which so astonished the emperor, that he took him for the son of God. Then the magician, with his accomplices, accused the apostles, and Nero gave orders that Peter and Paul should be brought in great haste before him. As early as the day after, the apostles and the magician disputed before Cæsar; and, as our faithful narrative informs us, they performed many wonders. For the disciples of the truth declared the truth, asserting that the magician was throughout a thief and a rogue; and to prevent the weak-minded from listening to him, protested solemnly that he was an infamous apostate. When Simon threatened to send his angels to punish Paul, the latter secretly requested Nero to order that a barley-loaf should be brought and given to him privately. This having been done, Peter took the loaf, which he blessed, broke, and hid in his sleeve: he then inquired of the magician, who boasted of being the son of God, what he had just done. Provoked at not being able to discover the apostle's secret, Simon called loudly to several enormous dogs, and ordered them to come and devour Peter before the eyes of Cæsar. Behold, suddenly there appeared dogs of a wonderful size, which leaped upon Peter. The apostle, however, kneeling on the

ground, extended his two hands, and exhibited the loaf he had blessed. As soon as the dogs perceived it, they suddenly disappeared. Thus the magician was publicly exposed, and became the laughing-stock of all the world, as he could only exhibit the ferocity of his dogs, instead of the power of the angels he had promised to send against the apostle; and in this manner showed that the angels who obeyed his orders came from the kennel, and not from heaven.

At last, Simon Magus having been frequently confounded by the power of the apostles' words, Nero commanded that a lofty wooden tower should be built in the Field of Mars. The next day, the emperor, the senate, the Roman knights, and all the people assembled there to witness the show; and, by the command of Nero, the apostles were also brought to the place. Then Simon, having ascended to the top of the tower, before all the people, crowned with laurel, he extended his hands towards heaven, and began to take his flight in the air. Meanwhile, Paul, on his knees in the presence of the whole crowd, was praying to the Lord; while Peter was attentively watching Simon's tricks, and waited patiently for the moment favourable for the infliction of divine vengeance. At last he said to his faithful companion, "Paul, raise your head a little, and look." Paul lifted up his eyes, full of tears, and saw Simon already flying through the air; then he said: "Peter, why do you delay? Finish what you have begun, for the Lord Jesus Christ already calls us to him." Then Peter, looking towards Simon, exclaimed: "Angels of Satan, who bear this impostor through the air to lead into error the hearts of the unbelievers, I adjure you, by God, the Creator of all things, and by our Lord Jesus, his Son, who on the third day was raised from the dead, that from this moment you cease to carry him, and let him fall."

Immediately, obeying the voice of Peter, the demons allowed their burden to drop from the clouds, and the magician fell on the spot which is called the Sacred Street [*Via Sacra*], where his body, broken into four quarters, spread over four stones, which bear testimony to the triumph of the apostles to the present day. Hearing the crash, Paul raised his head, and returned thanks to God, the just judge.

Nero, inflamed with rage, ordered Peter and Paul to be thrown into prison; while, by his orders, Simon's corpse was carefully guarded for three days and as many nights, because he was convinced that the magician would rise again on the third day. Paul, on the contrary, asserted that he was damned to all eternity. While the apostles were rejoicing in the Holy Ghost, and openly confessed that the Lord Jesus was their master, Nero, transported with anger, said to his prefect Agrippa: "It is absolutely necessary that those impious men should perish by a condign punishment; procure, therefore, some iron chains, and let them be burnt in the Naumachia." Agrippa replied: "It is not right that you should order them to be executed in that way, as Paul appears to be innocent of the murder of Simon; it is, however but just that he should lose his head, on account of his impiety. As for Peter, who committed the homicide, order him to be crucified."¹ The emperor assenting, the teachers of eternal salvation were immediately removed from his presence and delivered over to Paulinus.

Paulinus, one of the most illustrious of the Roman magistracy, received the charge of the apostles of Christ, and confined them in the Mamertine prison, where they were guarded by Processus, Martinian, and other soldiers. They remained in this prison for nine months, and cured by their prayers many sick people and demoniacs who came to them. Moreover, as their fellow prisoners cried without ceasing, and united in begging for water to quench the thirst that tormented them, the blessed apostles prayed to God, and their prayer was quickly answered by him whom they trusted. For the blessed apostle Peter, having made the sign of the cross on the Tarpeian rock, at the same moment a spring burst from the side of the hill. Then Processus, Martinian, and all the prisoners, threw themselves at the feet of the apostle Peter, and forty-seven persons, believing in the Lord, were baptized. The apostle offered up for them the eucharistic sacrifice and made them partake of the holy communion.

¹ This paragraph, thus far, and the two preceding ones, are extracted from the apocryphal work attributed to Marcellus

At the sight of so many wonders, the officers,¹ Processus and Martinian, said to the apostles: "Depart wherever you like, for Nero has forgotten you, and will not miss you." Peter and Paul, being entreated by the brethren to leave the prison, quitted it at the end of nine months, and, passing along the Via Appia, arrived safe at the city gate. Then Paul went to visit his acquaintance and friends in the city, and strengthened in the faith the Romans and the rest of the believers, who rejoiced greatly at his escape; and, as his custom was, sowed the seed abundantly of the word of God, and, with his help, added for some days to the number of the faithful. The blessed Peter, who had the flesh of his leg eaten into by the fetters (the bandage falling off by the side of the fence in the Via Nova), had almost reached the Appian Gate, when the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him. As soon as Peter had perceived him, he worshipped him, saying: "Lord, whither goest thou?" The Lord said to him: "Follow me, Peter; for I am going to Rome to be crucified a second time." The apostle, immediately following him, turned back towards Rome, and our Saviour then said to him: "Fear not, for I am with you until I introduce you into my Father's house."²

When Paul returned to the city in the morning, the officers arrested him, and dragged him before the emperor's tribunal. Then Nero, remembering what had before occurred, gave orders that Peter should be nailed to a cross, and Paul be beheaded. But when Peter was led to the foot of the cross, his thoughts wholly occupied with heavenly things, he acutely felt that the Lord Jesus Christ, who descended from heaven upon the earth, had been raised upon a cross planted upright, and he entreated the executioners to reverse his, and crucify him with his head downwards. This they did, fixing his feet above and his hands underneath. Then an innumerable multitude of people assembled so full of indignation that they would have committed the emperor Nero

¹ *Magistriani*, called also *magisteriani*, were ministerial officers of the lower empire. Ducange describes them as *agentes in rebus*.

² These two paragraphs, and the sentence which precedes them, are taken from a work called *The Acts of SS. Processus and Martinian. Act. SS. Mensis Julii*, i. pp. 303, 304. A church built on the spot which tradition reports to be the scene of this apparition, took its name from St. Peter's words: *Domine quo vadis?*

himself to the flames. But Peter forbade them, saying: "Nay, nay, my children, put no obstacle in my way; my feet already walk on the road to heaven. Grieve not, but rather rejoice with me, for to-day I receive the fruit of my labours."

Then after a long exhortation, in which he clearly explained the type of the cross of Christ, whose steps he followed, he prayed, and returned thanks to God, saying: "I give thanks to thee, O good Shepherd, because the flock that thou hast entrusted to my care share with me this trial; and I beseech thee, Lord, to let them partake with me of thy mercy in thy kingdom." He added: "Good Shepherd, Jesus Christ, I commend to thee the sheep that thou didst commit to my care, that they may not perceive that they have lost me, having thee for their protector, by whose aid I have been able to govern this flock." With these words he yielded up his spirit.

Immediately, there appeared men, who had never been seen in that place, and whom no one had been able to see there, either before or afterwards, and they said that they were come from Jerusalem for Peter's sake. These men, in concert with the illustrious Marcellus, secretly carried off the body of the apostle, and deposited it under a turpentine tree, near the Naumachia, in the place which is called the Vatican; testifying that the friends of our Lord Jesus Christ were ordained to be the mighty patrons of the Romans.¹

I shall now make some brief extracts from the history of the martyrdom of St. Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, showing how he fought a good fight, and finished his course, and obtained the reward of his heavenly calling, inserting the account in this place to the praise of the ineffable Saviour.²

After Paul had left the prison, as before related, he returned to the garden, where he lodged before; and there great numbers of his friends resorted to him with much joy. At last one day, towards evening,

¹ The preceding three paragraphs are borrowed from the account published under the name of St. Marcellus.

² Here our author again takes up the apocryphal story of St. Linus, which he follows in this and the six following paragraphs.

as he was inculcating his saving doctrine, and teaching the crowds in an upper chamber, Patroclus, the emperor's cup-bearer, having been invited by some of his own intimate friends, withdrew from his master's presence, and repaired at nightfall to Paul that he might hear the lessons of everlasting life. But on account of the crowd he could not get near the master, to hear conveniently the word of God which he fervently loved: he therefore got up into a very high window, and there sat. Now as Paul prolonged his discourse until a late hour, the young man became drowsy, and through the snares and malice of Satan, fell asleep, and falling from the window of the room, which was on a very high floor, expired. The news of this accident was speedily carried to Nero as he was returning from the bath, and being extremely attached to the young man, he was much concerned, and appointed another to be cup-bearer in his place.

Meanwhile Paul, who still continued his instructions within, immediately knew, through the Holy Spirit, what had happened, and informed those present of the accident, ordering them to bring forthwith the lifeless body to him. As soon as the corpse was brought into the room, Paul addressed the people, and exhorted them to pray with a full faith to the Lord Jesus for the resurrection of the dead man. All present fell on their knees to join in prayer, which being concluded, Paul said: "Young Patroclus, rise up and relate what the Lord has done for you." Whereupon Patroclus suddenly arose as if from sleep, and began to glorify Almighty God. Then Paul sent him away rejoicing with the other officers of Cæsar's household.¹

While Nero was lamenting the death of Patroclus, and abandoning himself to extreme grief, he heard those about him say that Patroclus was alive and standing at the gate of the palace. On hearing this, the emperor was seized with fear, and forbade him to enter the palace and appear in his presence. At last, listening to the persuasions of his friends, he gave Patroclus permission to come in, and when he saw him safe and sound, and showing no signs of death,

¹ This tale is one of the repetitions, so frequent in the apocryphal legends, of the miracle in which St. Paul restored to life the young Eutychus of Philippi

he was overwhelmed with amazement; and having conversed with him for awhile, perceived that he was become a Christian; and, unable to restrain his rage, gave him a blow on the cheek, which caused Patroclus to rejoice the more in the Lord Jesus.

Then Barnabas and Justus, Paul, the soldier Arion of Cappadocia, and Festus the Galatian, all attendants and friends of Cæsar, said to their master: "Why did you buffet this young man who is well taught, and gave true answers? We also are soldiers of the invincible king, Jesus Christ our Lord." When Cæsar heard them all, with one mind and one voice, call Jesus the invincible king, he ordered them to be thrown into prison, resolving to torture cruelly those he had fondly loved. He also commanded a strict search to be made for all the setters forth of this great King, and published a cruel edict that as many as were discovered should be tortured and punished without trial. In consequence, a strict search was made for the faithful by the officers, and a great number of them were found and brought into the presence of Cæsar.

Amongst these, Paul, always in bonds for Christ's sake, was led before the emperor in chains. All the other Christians looked upon him as their master, and justly honoured him whom the Lord had pronounced to be a chosen vessel, each of them preferring him to himself in all things. Nero, therefore, without any witness could easily understand that Paul commanded the soldiers of the great King. Having asked him why he had furtively intruded himself into the jurisdiction of the Roman state and enticed his soldiers to desert the imperial service, and enlist under the banner of his own King,¹ Paul, full of the Holy Spirit, boldly pro-

¹ However apocryphal, and even absurd, are many of the details of this legend, the writer seems to have penetrated the true motive of these persecutions. Under the large toleration allowed by the religious system of the Romans in the time of the emperors, the introduction of a new god might have been received with indifference, or even with favour; but, in addition to the exclusive character of the new faith, the ruling powers became evidently alarmed lest the kingly character attributed to Christ should interfere with their temporal power. This view of the case was adroitly put forward by the Jewish Sanhedrim when Christ was arraigned before the Roman procurator; but Pilate either believed our Lord's disclaimer of "a kingdom of this world," or thought him too insignificant a person to cause any serious disturbance, and therefore handed him over

claimed before all present, the power of Almighty God, and invited them all to partake of the bounties of his hand which can dispense the richest gifts to every one according to his deserts. He also admonished the emperor himself to pay dutiful allegiance to the supreme King. Lastly, he asserted that his King would come to judge the quick and the dead, and destroy the world by fire. At these words, Nero Cæsar was inflamed with anger, and commanded that all the soldiers of Christ should be burnt at the stake. But Paul was treated as one guilty of high treason, and a decree of the Senate was passed, condemning him according to the Roman laws to lose his head. Having been delivered to the prefects Longinus and Megistus, and the centurion Acestus, to be executed without the walls, Paul preached to them by the way, without intermission, the word of salvation. The apparitors and officers also who were hastily despatched by Nero to seek for them, used their utmost endeavours to hunt out the Christians who concealed themselves, in order to put them to death. In consequence, such immense numbers of the faithful were massacred, that the Roman people, becoming exasperated, made a forcible entrance into the palace, with the intention of laying violent hands on Cæsar himself. Then Nero, frightened at the clamours of the people, issued another edict commanding that the Christians should be allowed to live in peace. This rendered it necessary that Paul should be brought before him a second time; but as soon as Nero saw him, he vehemently exclaimed: "Take away the magician, take away the sorcerer; cut off the impostor's head, and sweep from the face of the earth this perverter of the people's minds." But Paul firmly declared that after death he should live eternally, and be with his invincible King, and that, to prove the truth of his words, he would show himself visibly alive to the emperor himself after they had beheaded him. Paul was now led rejoicing to the place of execution, unceasingly publishing the words of life to his executioners, and to all who accompanied him. With the aid of the Holy Spirit, he showed the emptiness of idolatry, proved its nothingness,

to his accusers to be dealt with according to their law, and he was finally sentenced, on his own confession, for what they called blasphemy, that is the assertion of his divine nature.

and admirably set before them the true faith and the knowledge of the true God; concluding his discourse with a magnificent description of the damnation of the reprobate, and the glorious rewards of the righteous. He did not speak in vain, for his divine teaching suddenly produced its fruits; touching and inflaming the hearts of the crowds who listened to him, and converting the shouts of the new converts into wailings for their sins.

In the meantime, as these holy occupations caused some delay, while the dense crowd rent the air with their cries, Nero sent Parthenius and Phereta to see if his orders had been carried into effect, and hasten the apostle's execution, if he were still alive. In these men also Paul endeavoured to plant the seeds of salvation, but, evil prevailing, and their hearts being hardened, his labour was in vain.

As he went towards his place of martyrdom, followed by innumerable multitudes, he met at the gate of the city of Rome, Plautilla, a noble matron, to whom he said: "Adieu, Plautilla, daughter of eternal salvation." He then requested her to give him the kerchief she wore on her head, to bind his eyes at the time of his suffering. The lady, in tears, immediately presented him the kerchief, and commending herself to his prayers, retired a little out of the crowd, as the apostle had commanded her. Paul, observing that she was subjected to insults by the pagans, who reproached her with believing in a magician and an impostor, spake words of comfort to her, ordered her to wait for his return in some unfrequented place, and told her that she would receive, by means of her kerchief, an unmistakeable token of his death. He then in few words instructed Longinus and those of his companions who believed, how and by whom they could be baptized after his death. Arriving at the place of execution, he turned towards the east, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed in Hebrew for a long time with the tears trickling down his cheeks, and concluded with returning thanks to God. After this, taking leave of the brethren, he blessed them, and having bound his eyes with Plautilla's hood, he knelt down on both knees, and stretched out his neck. The executioner struck him with all his might, and cut off his head, which, after it was separated from the body, pronounced with a clear voice the name of Jesus Christ in

Hebrew. A stream of milk immediately gushed from the body upon the soldier's clothes, and blood flowed afterwards. The hood, which he had bound over his eyes, disappeared. Such an intense light burst from heaven at the moment of his decollation, attended by delicious perfume, that the mortal eyes could not bear the brightness, and no human tongue could give a description of the fragrance. All who witnessed these wonders were filled with admiration, and, for a long time, gave praises to the invincible King of Sabaoth. But Parthenius and Phereta returned to the city, and when they reached the gate, found there Plautilla giving glory to the Lord; but they presently asked her in derision, why she did not cover her head with the hood she had given to Paul. She, inspired with the ardour of faith, answered nobly: "O vain and wretched men, who know not how to believe even the things that you see with your own eyes and touch with your own hands! I have indeed the kerchief I gave, now gloriously tinged with that precious blood." She then told them with triumph that Paul had come from heaven, attended by an innumerable company of angels clothed in white, and restored her hood, thanking her for her kindness towards him, and adding the promise of an eternal reward. Then Plautilla drew the hood¹ from her bosom, and showed it to them dyed red with blood. On seeing this the men were struck with terror, and quickened their pace to reach the palace, and inform Cæsar of what they had seen and heard. Upon receiving the intelligence, the emperor was greatly astonished, and, horribly alarmed, began to consult the philosophers, his own friends, and the officers of state as to the meaning of all that had been reported to him.

About the ninth hour, while they were all wondering at these events, and inquiring and conversing about them, Paul

¹ This article of female attire, which became the object of so much superstition, is variously called in the legend, as quoted by our author, *pannum*, a cloth, napkin, or kerchief, *panniculum*, and *mafora*, otherwise *mavora*, a covering for the head (*Ducange Glossar.*), but never *velum* or *velamen*, a veil, the character assigned to it by modern writers. It appears to have been either a hood, or a kerchief, which, wrapped round the head, still forms the graceful head-dress of Italian females of the lower order, and must also be familiar to many readers as that of the Madonnas of Carlo Dolce and Sassa Ferrata.

entered the palace although the doors were closed, and standing before the emperor, said to him : "O Cæsar Nero, behold Paul, the soldier of the eternal and invincible King, stands before you ! You will now, perhaps, believe that I am not dead, but live by the power of my God. As for you, wretched man, unutterable woes await you shortly, the bitterest punishment and eternal death ; because, among your other crimes, you have shed like water the blood of the faithful." Having said these words, he suddenly disappeared ; while Nero, on hearing them, was struck with unspeakable horror ; and having almost lost his senses, was at a loss how to act. At last, by the advice of his friends, he ordered Patroclus and Barnabas to be set at liberty, with all those who had been thrown into chains with them. Longinus, also, and his companions came to Paul's sepulchre early in the morning, as he had appointed, and there saw two men praying, and Paul standing between them. Terrified at this wonderful sight, they dared not approach nearer ; but then Titus and Luke, awaking from the trance into which they had fallen in the fervour of their prayer, saw the prefects and the centurion, who had been the instruments of Paul's death, hastening towards them, with natural alarm they immediately took to flight. But the officers, calling to them in gentle accents, they immediately stopped, and having heard their profession of faith, baptized them with religious joy.

At this time, the first thunder-cloud of a terrible persecution burst over the Christians, who furnished admirable examples of resolution and constancy for those that followed. In Tuscany, Torpes, one of the great officers of Nero, was beheaded, after suffering various tortures ; at Rome, Processus, Martinian, and forty-six of their companions were baptized by the blessed apostle Peter. Longinus and two others were converted by Paul, and received the washing of salvation at the hands of Titus and Luke. All these, followed their spiritual teachers step by step, for their faith and martyrdom. At Milan, Nazarius, Gervasius, Protasius, and Celsus, a boy, suffered for Christ.¹ Thus Nero added war against God to his innumerable crimes, and

¹ It hardly need be remarked that we possess no authentic accounts of any of these persons, whose acts in the martyrologies are completely apocryphal.

incurred the hatred of the army and Roman people, who decreed that he should be publicly scourged to death. On hearing this sentence, he trembled with fear, and, struck with intolerable alarm, the wretched prince absconded, and was never seen again. Some relate that, while wandering about after his flight, his limbs became stiff from hunger and cold, and he was devoured by wolves.¹

Such are the notices respecting the two most eminent senators of the church, which I have collected faithfully, extracting from the accounts of their remarkable acts, contained in a great number of volumes, a short abridgment for the information of posterity.

Peter preached for seven years to the circumcision, and held the see of Antioch for another seven years. He went to Rome in the time of Claudius Cæsar, to oppose Simon Magus, and there preached the gospel for twenty-five years, being the first bishop of Rome. He was crucified in the thirty-sixth year after Christ's passion, on the third of the calends of July [June 29], and his body was interred by the Aurelian Way, near the palace of Nero on the Vatican.² On the same day, Paul, after nobly suffering innumerable pains and labours, was beheaded at the second milestone on the road to Ostia, in the gardens situated *ad aquas Salvias*, [at the Salvian waters.³] Both the apostles suffered at Rome during the reign of the emperor Nero, when Bassus and Tuscus⁴ were consuls; the first is honoured with the devotion of all the inhabitants of that city near the Triumphal Way, the second enjoys similar honours on the road to Ostia.⁵ Rome, the capital of the world, glories in having

¹ The conclusion of this paragraph is taken from the apocryphal work attributed to St. Marcellus. The received opinion is that the tyrant Nero took refuge in the cottage of one of his freedmen, and ended his days by suicide.

² The martyrdom of the two apostles took place, not in the thirty-sixth, but in the early part of the thirty-fourth year after our Lord's crucifixion.

³ It was on this spot that the church of *Sto. Paulo fuori muri* was afterwards erected.

⁴ Tuscus, one of the two consuls here mentioned, is a supposititious personage. C. Lecanius Bassus was consul in 64, two years before the date which seems to be the right one.

⁵ Notwithstanding the respectable traditions which support the statement, there is some difficulty, as it has been already intimated, in believing that for the purpose of opposing Simon Magus, or even with the object of

for her patrons such exalted saints, to whose temples the faithful resort from all parts of the globe, in order that, by assistance of these powerful advocates, they may be protected from all their adversaries and all hostile influences. All who with becoming devotion implore their intercessions, quickly experience their aid, through the mercy of God, the supreme King, who, in the unity of Trinity, reigns throughout all ages. Amen.

CH. IV. *The acts of St. Andrew the apostle—and his martyrdom, collected from the legends.*

ANDREW, the brother of Simon Peter, according to the Hebrew etymology, signifies *handsome* or *responding*; but in Greek is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, that is, *a viro*, and means virile. To this apostle Scythia and Achaia were allotted, for the field of his ministerial labours; in which last, in the town of Patras, he died suspended on a cross, upon the second of the calends of December [November 30]. We possess a short but excellent work, containing particulars of many wonderful acts of St. Andrew. Although the name of the author is unknown to me, yet some account of these will, I think, be very acceptable to the reader. I propose, therefore, to make brief extracts from the narrative, to the glory of the Almighty Messiah, and insert them in my own work.

When Matthew, apostle and evangelist, published the word of salvation to the Myrmidons, he was seized by some cruel men who put out his eyes, and threw him into prison and chains. Meanwhile, the apostle Andrew, by command of the angel of God, went down to the sea-shore; and having found a ship, immediately embarked, and the winds being favourable, made a quick passage to the town where St. Matthew was confined in a loathsome prison. Here, seeing his fellow apostle and the other prisoners, in great

founding a church at Rome, Peter undertook a journey there as early as the year 42, from which he had to return to Jerusalem in 44. It is equally difficult to admit that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome the same day, the one on the Vatican, the other on the road to Ostia, two miles from the city. We learn from Prudentius that in the fourth century it was supposed, and this is a more probable story, that the same meadow was watered with the blood of the two apostles.

affliction, he wept bitterly; but when they had prayed together, the whole place suddenly shook under them, and a light shone in the prison. The eyes of the blessed evangelist were also restored to him, and their fetters being unloosed, Matthew and the rest of the prisoners were set free, and quitted the dungeon. While, however, Andrew was preaching the word of God to the inhabitants of the country, they seized him, tied his legs together, and dragged him through the street of the town, so that his hair was torn out by the roots, and blood flowed from his head. At last, the prayers of the apostle being heard, great fear fell on the inhabitants of Myrmidonia,¹ who presently set him at liberty. Then prostrating themselves at his feet, they eagerly listened to his preaching, and, divinely influenced, believed in the Lord and were baptized. After this, Andrew departed, and, returning to his own country, there touched the eyes of a blind man who immediately recovered his sight.

Demetrius, the governor of the city of Amasia,² having heard of the miracles which Andrew performed in the name of Christ, came in tears to throw himself at the feet of the apostle, beseeching him to restore to life a young Egyptian who had died of fever. The kind apostle consoled him in his affliction, repaired with him to the house of mourning, and after he had prayed, the child arose in perfect health. All who saw this miracle rejoiced, believed, and were baptized.

Sostratus, a Christian youth, having been tempted by his mother to commit incest, ran off to the apostle; but the woman, full of spite, accused her son of the crime before the proconsul. The young man remained silent through modesty, but St. Andrew defended him, and publicly rebuked the lewd woman for her iniquity. The proconsul, in anger, ordered the young man to be tied up in the leathern sack used for parricides, and to be thrown into the river, and Andrew to

¹ The preaching of St. Matthew among the Myrmidons is a fact completely apocryphal, as well as all the other events mentioned by our author as connected with the history of St. Andrew. The whole of this legend is also borrowed from the Pseudo Abdias, lib. iii.

² There is no such town in Achaia, the country of St. Andrew, according to the preceding paragraph. There were several of the name, but all situate in Asia Minor.

be taken to prison. But while he was praying, a violent earthquake, attended with frightful claps of thunder, threw the proconsul from his seat, and the rest all fell on the ground. The mother of the lad was struck by lightning, and burnt to death. Then the proconsul threw himself at the feet of the apostle, saying: "Have compassion on us, thou servant of God, for we are perishing, and the earth will swallow us up." By the prayers of Andrew, the earthquake ceased; the air became serene, and, going round, he restored all those who were agitated with fear. The proconsul received the word of God, and, believing in the Lord with his whole family, was baptized by the apostle.

Gratinus of Sinope,¹ having an attack of fever, fell seriously ill, and at the same time his wife became swollen with the dropsy. His son also, while washing in the women's bath, was grievously tormented by a demon, which deprived him of his reason. At the request of the proconsul, Andrew ascended a chariot and came into the town, and as soon as he entered the house of Gratinus, drove out the demon, and cleansed and healed the young man. He rebuked a man and his wife who were foul with adultery, and cured them, after having received a promise that they would amend their lives; afterwards, when both were recovered, they received the faith of Jesus Christ, and were baptized with great joy, and their whole house.

At Nice, seven demons lurked among the tombs by the wayside, and stoned those who passed by at mid-day, having already killed a great number. At last, hearing that the apostle was approaching the gates, the whole city was in a tumult of joy, and the inhabitants, going out to meet him with branches of palm-trees, exclaimed: "Thou man of God, our salvation depends on you." They then explained to him the state of affairs, and heard in return from the apostle's lips all the rules of faith and religion. They were immediately filled with joy, believed in the Lord, and confessed that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. Andrew then returned thanks to God for their instant conversion; and, commanding the demons to appear before the people in the shape of dogs, banished them to arid and barren wastes,

¹ There is no more a town of this name in Achaia than one of that of Amasia. Sinope was a town of some importance in Paphlagonia.

where they could hurt no one. Thus armed with the power of God, he delivered the city of Nice, baptized the citizens who believed, and appointed Celestine,¹ a good and wise man, to be their bishop.

At the gate of Nicomedia Andrew met a young man lying dead on a pallet, whose aged parents were following to the grave the corpse of their son, weeping bitterly. Grieved at seeing their tears, he inquired what was the cause of the youth's death. But they were afraid and returned no answer; their servants answered his question, saying: "While he was alone in his room, seven dogs suddenly appeared and leaping upon him, miserably tore him, so that he fell down dead." Then Andrew knew that this was the work of the seven demons he had driven out of Nice, and sighing towards heaven he begged of God the life of the deceased. Having concluded his prayer, he turned himself towards the bier, and said: "In the name of Jesus Christ, rise up." To the great astonishment of the people, the young man arose, and attached himself to him to whom he owed his restoration to life. The apostle took the young convert with him as far as Macedonia, and instructed him in the words of salvation.

Having quitted the town, he went on board a ship, and entered the strait called Hellespont, intending to sail to Byzantium, when suddenly the sea became rough, and a violent gale sprung up which nearly sank the ship, so that the sailors expected to perish every moment. At length the blessed Andrew prayed to the Lord, at whose command the wind was still and the sea tranquil, so that a favourable voyage soon brought them, delivered from their peril, to Byzantium.

As they approached the shores of Thrace, a great multitude of men appeared with drawn swords, and brandishing lances in their hands, ready to fall upon those who came within their reach. But the blessed Andrew made the sign of the cross towards them, and prayed to God for the preservation of his followers. Then the angel of the Lord, passing through the band with great radiance, touched their

¹ In the Pseudo Abdias this person is called Calixtus. We are now fairly landed in Asia, as those words are inserted after Nice in the original work.

swords and, falling on the ground, they allowed the man of God and those who accompanied him to go through unhurt. The apostle Andrew arrived at Perinthus, a maritime city of Thrace, where he found a vessel which was to sail with all speed for Macedonia. The angel of God commanding him to embark in it, when on board he preached the word of God, and the pilot and all the sailors believed in the Lord.

There was at Thessalonica a young nobleman extremely rich named Exous. He went to the apostle without his family knowing it, and having heard him preach the word of God believed in the Lord, and, leaving his parents and property, attached himself to him. His relations searching for him, found him at Philippi, and used their utmost endeavours to detach him from the apostle by employing presents and threats, but were not able to do so. Andrew whom they treated with contempt, preached to them the word of salvation, and, having got together a numerous band, they threw fire upon the house, and being furnished with bundles of rushes and sedges and with torches, they began to succeed in their efforts to reduce it to ashes. Then the young man, having called upon the name of Christ, poured upon the flames a bottle of water, and the divine power extinguished the fire in an instant, as if it had not been lighted. Enraged at the failure of their attempts, they brought ladders to scale the walls, and put to the sword all who were in the house; but they were struck blind by the power of God, so that they were unable to see how to ascend the ladders. Then Lysimachus, one of the citizens, acknowledged the hand of God, and strongly rebuked his neighbours for their folly, saying: "Why, O simple mortals, do you consume your strength in fruitless attempts? God himself fights for these men, and you do not perceive it! Cease this folly, lest the anger of Heaven should destroy you." At these words they were pricked to the heart, and while the darkness of night was thickening around them, they were illuminated by light from heaven. Going up they found the apostle praying; and, prostrating themselves on the floor, entreated his forgiveness, which they received. He then kindly raised them up, and, being strengthened in the faith, they praised the Lord. However the parents

of the young man were not among the number of those who believed; and cursing their child, they returned to their own country, where, at the end of fifty days, they both expired in the same hour. Then the young man received his whole patrimony from his fellow-citizens, by whom he was much beloved, and attaching himself to the apostle, he distributed amongst the poor the revenue of his estates.

Some time after they both departed together for Thessalonica, where the citizens thronged about them in the theatre with great rejoicings. While Exous was preaching to them the word of God, the blessed Andrew, admiring his wisdom, listened in silence. After this, at the request of the multitude, he ordered them to bring to him Adimathus, the sick son of Carpianus. This young man, having received from his father an assurance that he would be healed, believed his words, and putting on his clothes, rose from the bed on which he had lain twenty-three years, and, running swiftly, so that he left his parents behind him, repaired to the theatre, fell down at the apostle's feet, and, to the amazement of the people, returned thanks for the recovery of his health. A certain Thessalonian, having implored the apostle to heal his son who was possessed with a devil, Satan, the master of a thousand artifices,¹ suffocated him in a secret chamber. The father, having found his son dead, and being in great affliction at his bereavement, yet strong in faith, did not give up all hope, but had the corpse carried to the theatre by his friends, and told his case to the apostle. The latter, turning to the people, exclaimed: "O men of Thessalonica, what can it profit you to witness the performance of miracles, if you do not believe?" However, as they promised to believe if they saw the miracle, the apostle Andrew said to the dead man: "In the name of Jesus Christ, rise up, young man!" And he immediately arose, and the people astonished, faithfully kept the promise they had made to receive the faith.

Medias of Philippi, begged St. Andrew with tears, to have compassion upon his son, who was very ill; and the benevolent apostle kindly listened to his request, and, taking him

¹ *Mille Artifex*; one of the names which it was pretended the devil sometimes gave himself as will be seen hereafter in the legend of St. Marcellus.

by the hand, went with him to Philippi. As they were entering the gate of the city, an old man came up to them, and implored his interference in favour of his sons, who were thrown into prison by Medias for some offence they had committed. The apostle exhorting him to be merciful, Medias threw himself at his feet, and, in the hope of obtaining the recovery of his son, pardoned not only the two sons of the old man, but also seven other prisoners for whom no one had said a word. When they were set at liberty, the apostle healed Philomede, who had been twenty-two years infirm.

The people then calling upon the apostle to cure their sick also, Andrew, trusting in the Lord, said to the young man whom he had just healed: "Visit all the sick at their own homes, and command them to rise up in the name of Jesus Christ, who has restored you to health." He immediately obeyed the apostle's word, and the people believed when they saw the miracles, and offered many presents to the man of God; but as he preached the word of life to all without reward, he refused to accept of anything, but invited all men to come and receive the faith. He also healed gratuitously the daughter of Nicholas, who was in a languishing state; although her father offered him a very valuable present, that is to say, a gilded chariot with four white mules, and the same number of horses.

The fame of the apostle's miracles on the sick spreading throughout Macedonia, Quirinus, the proconsul, was incensed against him, and he sent soldiers to Thessalonica to lay hands upon Andrew; but when they saw the brightness of his countenance, they dared not touch him. The people of the place who believed in God receiving information that a band of soldiers was coming there to do harm to the apostle, they became so exasperated that they were ready to fall on them with swords and staves; and although the apostle forbade, they could scarcely refrain from murdering them. Again the proconsul sent a band of soldiers, who, when they saw the apostle, became so agitated that they were not able to utter a single word. The third time, the proconsul despatched a large body of troops, one of whom was possessed with a devil, and made use of the most violent language against the proconsul in his absence. The demon

afterwards came out of the soldier, who fell down on the ground and expired. At last, the proconsul came himself transported with fury, but, although he stood near the apostle Andrew, was not able to see him until he heard him speak. This wretched man, seeing the holy servant of God, loaded him with abuse and threats. But the benign saint endeavoured to calm the fury of the judge with gentle words; and, pouring forth prayers to the Lord, restored the dead soldier to life. The proconsul, however, still persisted in his insane fury, and the next morning ordered that wild beasts should be let into the arena, and the blessed apostle led to the spot, and thrown to the wild beasts. The savage guards then dragged Andrew by the hair towards the arena, threw him in, and let loose upon him a ferocious and horrible boar. The animal walked three times round the holy man of God, but did him no harm. By order of the proconsul, another boar¹ was brought by thirty soldiers, and driven into the place by two hunters; but it would not touch Andrew, while it tore the huntsmen in pieces. At last, giving a horrible grunt, it fell down and expired. While the people, for this deliverance, were celebrating the praises of the Lord, an angel was seen to descend from heaven to comfort the holy man of God, who was still in the stadium. At last the cruel proconsul, boiling with rage, commanded that a most ferocious leopard should be let loose; but as soon as it was at liberty, disregarding the apostle, the animal ascended the steps to the proconsul's seat, and, leaping on his son, instantly strangled him. Utter madness must have possessed the proconsul, for he was not at all grieved at what had happened, nor did he speak a word. Then the blessed man comforted the people with the love of God, and, to strengthen their faith, promised to restore to life the proconsul's dead son. Prostrating himself upon the ground, he prayed for a considerable time, and then, taking the hand of the deceased in his own, raised him up in the name of the Lord. The people witnessing this miracle magnified God, and would have killed the proconsul Quirinus, who in his unbelief had dared resist God's saint; but the apostle would not permit them. The proconsul retired to the pretorium in confusion.

¹ According to the supposititious Abdias it was a bull.

Moved by the entreaties of a certain woman, the blessed Andrew followed her to a farm where there was a serpent fifty cubits long which devastated the whole country. At the approach of the apostle, the serpent made a loud hissing, and, erecting its crest, glided towards the persons present to their great consternation. Then the holy man of God said to it: "Hide thy head, cruel monster! thou hast raised it since the creation of the world for the destruction of the human race. Submit thyself to the servants of God, and die." The serpent immediately uttered a tremendous groan, and, coiling round the trunk of a large oak-tree that was near, vomited a stream of poison and blood, and expired. The apostle afterwards went to the farm-house belonging to the woman, where he found her little child lying dead, having been struck by the serpent. He then sent the parents to see that the reptile which had killed the infant was itself dead. After they had left the place, the apostle said to the proconsul's wife: "Go, and restore the child to life." She, nothing doubting, approached the corpse, and said: "In the name of my God, Jesus Christ, rise up whole;" and the child instantly arose, to the great joy of all present, who returned thanks to God.

On the following night, the blessed Andrew saw Peter and John in a vision, when it was revealed to him that in a short time he would be hung on a cross, and thus be a partaker of the same suffering as the Lord Jesus at his crucifixion. Whereupon he called together the brethren, and related the vision to them, explaining its meaning, and endeavouring to console them in the affliction which the announcement of his sudden departure from this world had caused them. During five days he instructed them in saving truths, and having, by devout prayers, commended the flock of his church to God, he departed for Thessalonica.¹

The proconsul, Lisbius, endeavouring to resist the designs of God, sent soldiers on several occasions to take Andrew, but his abominable attempts were foiled; and, on the arrival of the apostle, Lisbius was cruelly scourged by two demons. Upon this he sent for the man of God, and confessed his iniquity to him in the presence of all the people. He then

¹ Our author has forgotten to add that from Thessalonica St. Andrew repaired to Patras, where the events that follow took place.

willingly heard the word of God from the apostle's lips, and being healed of his wounds, believed in God, in whose laws he thenceforth diligently walked.

Calista, the proconsul's wife was extremely jealous of Trophima, who formerly had been his concubine, but who, being now united to another man, adhered to the apostolic doctrine. She therefore, unknown to Lisbius, sent for her steward, and ordered him to condemn the woman as a prostitute, and to send her to the stews. Trophima being therefore conducted there, and given up to the bawd, made incessant prayers to God. When the lewd presented themselves, she held out the gospel which she carried in her bosom, and suddenly their libidinous desires were extinguished. One day a gay young man of very licentious habits drew near her, and would have violated her, but she resisted him, and, during the struggle, the gospel fell to the ground. Then Trophima, in the extremity of her distress, lifted up her hands to heaven, and, bursting into tears, said: "Do thou, Lord, save me from pollution, for whose name I am devoted to chastity." The angel of the Lord immediately appeared to her, and the debauched youth fell down at her feet, and expired; she, however, comforted by divine grace, blessed God, and raised the young man to life in the name of Christ, and the whole city ran to witness the spectacle.

Calista repaired to the bath with her steward, and while they were in the water together, a horrible demon appeared before them, and struck them both dead. This sudden catastrophe was followed by great lamentations, and was announced to the apostle and the proconsul. Calista's nurse, who, on account of her great age, was obliged to be carried, implored the apostle to restore her mistress to life. Although the husband was justly irritated when he heard of the foul offence she had committed, the gentle apostle ordered the corpse to be laid where it could be generally seen, and, approaching the body, and having prayed, touched the head of the woman, saying: "Arise, in the name of Jesus Christ, my God." The woman immediately rose up, and begged to be reconciled to Trophima. At the sight of these divine miracles the proconsul Lisbius, under the guidance of the apostle, made progress in the faith, and faithfully obeyed his counsels in all things.

One day when they were both sitting on the sea-shore, and many persons were there listening with the greatest attention to the word of God from the apostle's lips, a dead body was thrown by the waves at the feet of Andrew, who soon brought it to life again after he had offered up a prayer to God. The body was that of a young man named Philopater, son of Sostratus, a Macedonian citizen. He bewailed the loss of his companions who were drowned, and supplicated Andrew to restore them to him; upon which the apostle addressed his prayers to heaven, and the waves, obeying his commands, brought to the shores thirty-nine corpses, which he restored to life, commanding each of the brethren who were there to lay his hand upon a corpse, and to say to it: "May Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, raise you from the dead." In this manner thirty-nine men came to life again, and glorified the Lord Almighty.

After performing many miracles and good works, of which it would be impossible for me to give a particular account, the blessed apostle Andrew went to Patras,¹ where Maximilla the wife of the proconsul Egeas,² who had succeeded Lisbius lay seriously ill. Then Effidima,² who had been converted by the preaching of Sosias, besought the apostle to visit Maximilla, lying sick under an attack of fever. He repaired to the bed-chamber of the sick woman, preceded by Effidima; and, having prayed, the fever disappeared, and the woman was cured. The proconsul now offered to the holy man of God a hundred silver pieces, which he would not even look at. While the blessed apostle was at Patras performing a great number of miracles, and many were led to embrace the faith of Christ by these displays of corporal succour, Stratocles, the brother of the proconsul Egeas, arrived from Italy. He had with him a slave named Algmana,³ of whom he was extremely fond, and who, having been attacked by a demon, lay in the court, foaming at the mouth. This caused much disturbance, and Stratocles, whose grief was unbounded, at the instance of

¹ In the original legend, St. Andrew returns to Patras, after a journey to Corinth and Megara.

² These names should be written Ageates and Ephidama, or Iphidamia.

³ Alcman.

Maximilla and Effidima, sent for the blessed Andrew, who, by his prayers, healed the demoniac boy. In consequence Stratocles believed in the Lord; and, strengthened in the faith, attached himself to the apostle, in order to hear him preach the word of God. Egeas had left for Macedonia; and Maximilla, in the fervour of her spiritual love, sought continual opportunities of receiving from the apostle the heavenly doctrine, and piously devoted herself to him. The proconsul therefore became highly incensed against the apostle, and indignant, because his wife, after she had received the doctrine of salvation, would no longer share his bed.

I shall now endeavour to relate briefly the martyrdom¹ of the most blessed Andrew, inserting carefully in my work the account which the pious devotion of our holy mother the church has preserved in her libraries, and faithfully recites. The priests and deacons of the churches of Achaia were, doubtless, eye-witnesses of it clearly, and they described it well for the instruction of all the churches founded in the four climates of the globe.²

The proconsul Egeas, on his return from Macedonia, went to Patras, a city of Achaia, and began to compel the believers in Christ to offer sacrifices to idols. St. Andrew went to see him, and reasoned with him to bring him over to the true faith; but wisdom could not penetrate his perverse mind. Then the liberal steward of divine knowledge, although his attempts to profit the impious Egeas were not crowned with success, abundantly supplied the food of his heavenly doctrine to others who were predestinated to life. He discoursed with wisdom on the mystery of the cross, showing plainly why God was made man and suffered for us, and fully explained the history of our Lord's passion, and

¹ Ordericus Vitalis always uses the word *passion* to describe the final scenes of suffering and death which closed the career of the primitive martyrs. The theological sense of the word is, perhaps, generally understood from its application in the formularies of the church to our Lord's last sufferings, but it has been thought most advisable in these cases to substitute the word martyrdom.

² Our author often speaks of the "four climates," as we do of the four quarters of the globe, and as the theory of the zones is now antiquated, the modern phraseology might have been adopted but for its involving an anachronism in the state of geographical knowledge.

the common advantages which mankind had derived from it. Irritated at this discourse, Egeas ordered the apostle to be seized and thrown into prison, where multitudes visited him from almost every part of the province, intending to kill the proconsul and liberate the apostle by forcing the prison doors. But Andrew restrained them by his salutary counsels, spending the whole night in teaching them, and, recalling to their memory the patience of the Lord Jesus, earnestly entreated the people not to offer any obstacle to his passion.

The next day the proconsul Egeas sent to have the apostle brought before him, and, sitting on the tribunal, employed every means to gain him over; but the saint, whose faith was built on God, firmly resisted both his threats and his fair words. Egeas at last ordered him to be stretched out and lashed with seven scourges of three thongs;¹ but, after receiving these stripes, the brave champion of Christ set forth the merits of the cross, and, notwithstanding the fury of the tyrant, firmly maintained the truth of his averments.

Then the enraged proconsul, exasperated to the last degree, ordered the apostle to be attached to the cross, commanding the ministers of torture to bind his feet and hands, and stretch his limbs as if he was placed on the wooden horse, that his sufferings might be protracted, because, if he were fastened with nails, he would die too soon. As the holy man was led along by the executioners, he was followed by a great concourse of people who clamoured loudly, saying: "What has this just man, the friend of God, done, that you are leading him to be crucified?" But Andrew walked with composure and cheerfulness, begging the crowd not to hinder his passion, and continuing to teach his saving doctrine. When he had arrived at the spot which was to witness his last struggle, and saw the cross at a distance, he exclaimed in a loud voice: "Hail, O cross, consecrated by having borne the body of Christ, and adorned by having his limbs attached to thee as if they were precious jewels! O, good cross, that hast received from these thy lustre and beauty; long desired, dearly loved, sought for unceasingly, and now, at last, prepared for my longing soul!" Having

¹ *Septem ternionibus flagellis*; the French translator renders the phrase *sept fouets iressés*, but, as usual, avoids the difficulty.

given utterance to this and much more full of love and devotion, the apostle stripped himself, and gave his clothes to the executioners, who drew near the cross, on which they stretched his limbs, and suspended him with cords. In this cruel manner they executed the orders of the impious proconsul. A crowd of more than twenty thousand men stood round, exclaiming that the holy man was suffering unjustly; among whom was Stratocles, the brother of Egeas. St. Andrew comforted the minds of the faithful, exhorting them to patience under worldly afflictions, because martyrdom was the best road to an eternal reward.

Meantime, the multitude thronged to the palace of Egeas, shouting with one accord, "What sentence is this you have pronounced, proconsul? You have given an unrighteous judgment. Grant us the life of this just man; restore to us this holy man; do not put to death a man who is dear to God." Egeas, hearing these and other such cries of the people, was seized with fear, and promising to take the apostle down, immediately went with them towards the place of execution. As soon as St. Andrew saw him, he exhorted him to believe in Christ, and to have recourse to the faith for his salvation while it was still in his power. All this time, suspended from the cross, he serenely triumphed; and, enjoying the vision of Christ, whom he had loved with all his soul and long desired to see, in his excessive joy he exclaimed: "I now see my King; I now adore him; I am come into his presence." Then the executioners, handling the cross, were unable to touch him; and, though they all made successively repeated efforts to loose him, the arms of those who attempted to take him down became benumbed. Then St. Andrew cried with a loud voice, and poured forth a devout prayer to God. After having prayed for a long time to Jesus, his good Master, he was suddenly surrounded in the sight of all the people, by an extraordinary light flashing like lightning from heaven, too bright for human eyes to bear. This luminous appearance continued about half an hour, and, at the moment when it vanished, Andrew, the illustrious champion of Christ, gave up the ghost, and went with it to meet the Lord. Maximilla, a woman of senatorial rank, respectfully removed his body; and, having caused it to be embalmed, interred it in a well-chosen spot.

But Egeas was seized by a demon as he was returning to his palace, and died tormented by the evil spirit, on the public road, in the presence of all the people. As for Stratoctes, the brother of Egeas, he would not touch the smallest portion of his fortune, but withdrew, carrying with him the body of the holy apostle Andrew. All the inhabitants of the province were seized with such a consternation that not a person remained who did not believe in the Saviour, our God. It is reported that, from the sepulchre of St. Andrew, manna like flour, and oil of an exquisite odour flow, which indicate to the inhabitants of that country what will be the fertility of the year. If the produce be small, the earth gives her fruit sparingly; if, on the contrary, the yield be abundant, the harvest is also great.¹

Glorious apostle of Jesus Christ! inspired by a singular affection for thee, I have briefly described the course of thy life so happily adorned with divine grace, to the praise of thy omnipotent Master to whom thou didst remain faithfully devoted until death. Gentle Andrew, kindly take under thy patronage me, thy devoted servant, and recommend me, sinner that I am, by thy pious prayers, to the Creator's mercy, in whose worship I desire, with his aid, to remain constant through good and evil. As thou didst, when hanging on the cross, exhort the cruel Egeas, thy persecutor, to embrace the true faith, succour unceasingly the faithful sons of the church, who, with the utmost devotion of their hearts and the modulations of their voices, address to thee this pious canticle: "Blessed Andrew, the gentlest of the saints, obtain for us the pardon of our offences; and by thy intercession, raise up us who are weighed down by the burden of our sins. We are tossed among the turmoils of a reeling world, and groan in our

¹ This apocryphal account of St. Andrew's martyrdom may be seen in Surius, under the date of the 30th of November; but, with the exception of an unimportant addition at its close, describing the marvels connected with the tomb of the saint, the particulars are entirely supplied by the pseudo-Abdias, to which reference may be made for the complete legend.

We have very few authentic notices respecting St. Andrew, the traditions respecting him having been only collected in the fifth century. It is generally believed that having travelled through Sogdiana (Capital Samarcand), Colchis, European Scythia, Pontus, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, and Achaia, he suffered martyrdom at Patras about the year 70.

weakness. Beseech the majesty of the Lord that he will grant us the enjoyment of the true light. Amen!"

CH. V. *The calling—life—sufferings—banishment—acts—and death of St. John the evangelist, from the gospels and legends.*

JAMES and John, the sons of Zebedee, were named by Christ Boanerges, or, what would read much better, Boanereem,¹ that is to say, the sons of thunder; on account of the strength and greatness of the faith with which they kept inviolably, and taught in all its purity, the law of the Lord. James [Jacobus] signifies *he that supplants*, but John *the grace of God, or in whom is grace*. These elect brethren well merited such distinguished names, as, by supplanting of vice, they obtained a brilliant victory over the crooked serpent on the stage of this frail life, and became the especial friends of God, and, full of his manifold grace, enlightened our holy mother the church with the doctrine of truth. I have inserted in the preceding Book of this work,² a plain and short account of the blessed James, carefully abridged from the writings of ancient authors; relating how he carried the gospel into Judea and Samaria, and how he suffered martyrdom by the command of Herod, the son of Aristobulus, on the accusation of the chief priests and pharisees. I now enter on the inquiry what has been written respecting John the divine,³ the beloved disciple of Jesus Christ; desiring to make a brief summary of all that relates to him, to the glory of the God of Sabaoth. I shall consult what Mellitus⁴ wrote to the Laodiceans and the

¹ This correction was suggested by St. Jerome.

² We find the legend of St. James the Great, not in the first, but in the present book, page 176. It is borrowed, as before stated, from the pseudo Abdias.

³ *Theologo*. It has been already remarked in the first book, that our author adopts this title of St. John the Evangelist from the writings of the Fathers, and the acts of the council of Ephesus. It was constantly used by the Greeks; and they gave him also the title of *Symmista*, the co-initiated, borrowed from Clemens Alexandrinus.

⁴ The following narrative is, as our author states, extracted with great exactness, and for the most part literally, from the apocryphal history of St. John, attributed to a supposititious Mellitus, bishop of Laodicea. It was published at Lucca in the *Martyrology* of Florentinus, in the year 1688. See p. 130, &c.

other faithful brethren scattered over the face of the earth, and what other celebrated antiquarians have published relating to St. John, especially Jerome, the commentator on the holy scriptures, in his preface to the Apocalypse.

John, the apostle and evangelist, was chosen to perpetual celibacy by the Lord Jesus Christ, who loved him more than all the other disciples, insomuch that he allowed him to recline on his bosom at the paschal supper, and afterwards committed to him the care of his own mother, when he was the only disciple standing by the cross; thus appointing to the guardianship of a virgin, one whom he had called to perpetual chastity at the time when he thought of marrying. While John was publicly preaching the word of God in Asia, and incessantly bearing testimony to Jesus Christ both to Jews and Gentiles, an accusation against him was forwarded to Rome by the malicious enemies of the truth. By order of Domitian, who, after the example of Nero, raised the second persecution of the Christians, he was carried off from Ephesus, and brought before Cæsar and the senate, near the Latin gate. Standing firm in the true faith, as immovable as a strong and lofty mountain, he was thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, by Domitian's command, on the second of the nones [6th] of May; but, protected by the divine grace, he came out of it unhurt. On that day, in every year the faithful devoutly celebrate a festival to his memory. He was then banished to the isle of Patmos, where he wrote the Apocalypse, in which the condition and order of the church are described, as foreshown to him, in seven stages, together with the depths of tribulation and the rewards of good deeds.

At length, by the providence of God, who disposes all things aright, the same year that John was banished, the Roman senate condemned Domitian to death for his cruelties;² and declared also, by a general decree, that all the orders issued by the emperor should be considered null and

¹ These words probably refer to some tradition of an intended marriage of St. John, which has not reached us.

² St. John's immersion in a cask of boiling oil, and his banishment to the Isle of Patmos, one of the Sporades, in the Egean Sea, took place May 6, A.D. 95. Domitian was not assassinated during the course of the same year, nor for a year afterwards, but in September, 96.

void. In consequence of this decree, St. John the apostle, who, by command of Domitian, had been banished with ignominy, returned to Ephesus with honour, amid general rejoicings. For the whole population of Ephesus went out to meet him on his return, and both men and women, in the faithful expression of their joy, exclaimed as if with one voice, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

As John was entering the city, behold they were carrying to the grave the corpse of Drusiana, who, loving him fervently, had desired to see him before her death. The widows, and the poor, parents and orphans, all wept together, and exclaimed: "St. John, the apostle of God, you see us bearing to the grave Drusiana, who, following your holy counsels, fed us all, served God in chastity and humility, and, sighing for your return, said daily: 'O that I could see with my own eyes the apostle of God before I die!'" Then the blessed John having commanded them to put down the bier, and to uncover the corpse, said with a loud voice: "Drusiana, may my Lord Jesus Christ restore thee to life! Rise up on thy feet, and return to thy house, and there prepare refreshment for me." Immediately she arose, and obeyed the apostle's command with great joy, as well she might, for it seemed to her that she had been awakened not from death, but from sleep. And then the people ceased not shouting, for the space of three hours: "There is but one God, he whom St. John preaches; there is but one Lord, Jesus Christ."

At that time, two brothers, who were extremely rich, sold their inheritance by the advice of Crato the philosopher, and bought diamonds of singular value, which they crushed in the forum before all the people; thus making an ostentatious exhibition of their contempt for the world. St. John happening to be passing through the forum, witnessed this display, and pitying the folly of these misguided men, kindly gave them sounder advice. Sending for Crato their master, who had led them into error, he blamed the wasteful destruction of valuable property, and instructed him in the true meaning of contempt for the world according to Christ's doctrine; quoting the precept of that teacher, his own master, when, in reply to the young man who inquired of him how he might obtain eternal life, he said: "If thou

wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me.”¹ Crato the philosopher, acknowledging the soundness of the apostle’s teaching, entreated him to restore the jewels which had been foolishly crushed to their former condition. St. John then gathered up the precious fragments, and while he held them in his hand, prayed for some time, with his eyes raised to heaven. His prayer being concluded, and all the faithful present having said *Amen*, the broken pieces of the jewels became so closely united that there remained not the slightest appearance of any fracture. Then Crato the philosopher, with all his disciples, threw himself at the apostle’s feet, believed, and were baptized; and Crato, preaching openly the faith of the Lord Jesus, became a true philosopher.² Moreover, the two brothers, who before destroyed their property to no purpose, now, in obedience to the evangelical precept, sold their jewels and distributed the price in alms to the poor of Christ. And a multitude of believers began to attach themselves to St. John and to follow his steps.

Atticus and Eugenius, two brothers,³ and noble Ephesians, imitated the conduct of the youths already mentioned; selling all that they had and distributing to the poor, and becoming followers of the apostle as he went about the cities preaching the word of God. It happened that as they were entering Pergamus they beheld their own slaves parading in garments of silk, and making a display of worldly vanities. The devil’s malice shot the arrow, when the pride of the two brothers was wounded at seeing their slaves swaggering and gay, while they were poor and reduced to a single cloak. The blessed apostle, comprehending the wiles of Satan, directed that bundles of straight twigs and small pebbles from the sea-shore should be brought to him. When this was done, he called on the name of the Lord, and the twigs were turned into gold, and the pebbles into precious stones. Then the holy apostle said to the brothers :

¹ Matt. xix. 21.

² Either this Crato, or another of the same name, is subsequently mentioned by Ordericus in book ii. c. 11 of the present history.

³ In the original legend the brothers, whose names are here given, are the same as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

“Go, for seven days, among the goldsmiths and jewellers, and let me know when you have tested your gold and diamonds.” The brothers accordingly went round the workmen’s shops, and returning at the end of the seven days informed the apostle that the goldsmiths declared the gold to be pure, and the jewellers pronounced the stones precious. Then St. John said: “Go, now, and re-purchase the lands which you sold, for you have lost the heavenly inheritance. Clothe yourselves in robes of silk, that you may be as gay as the rose for a season. The flower is delightful both for its scent and colour, but soon fades. You envied the appearance of your slaves, and regretted that you had reduced yourselves to poverty; flourish then for a while that you may decay and perish; be rich in this world, that you may be stripped of all in the next. Is not the hand of the Lord powerful to make his servants abound in wealth and above measure glorious? But he has appointed a trial of the soul, that men may believe that these will obtain eternal riches, who for his sake have relinquished their worldly advantages.”

While the blessed John was delivering these edifying precepts and others like them, and descanting nobly on the misery and contempt of the world, on apostacy, and perseverance in well-doing, it happened that a young man named Stacteus was followed to his grave by his mother who was a widow. In her deep affliction the mother, with the crowd of people attending the funeral, threw themselves at the apostle’s feet, and besought him with many tears, that in the name of God he would restore this young man to life, as he had done in the case of Drusiana, and kindly relieve the distress of his mother and his newly married wife. Then the apostle knelt down and prayed for some time weeping, thrice rising from his supplications, lifting his hands to heaven and praying in secret. Then he directed the body to be loosed from the grave-clothes, and calling on the youth by name, commanded him to arise and give a true account of what he had seen while he was dead. Then Stacteus arose, and worshipping the apostle began to rebuke his disciples: “I saw,” he said, “your angels weeping, while Satan’s angels were rejoicing at your humiliation. I saw the kingdom prepared for you, and chambers garnished

with bright jewels, full of delights, feasts, riches; endless life, eternal light, and all the joys which you have lost. I saw also the chambers of darkness, for which, alas! you have made the exchange,—full of dragons and pit-falls, full of hissing flames and torments, full of corruption and sorrow.”

While Stacteus was describing these and similar scenes, the crowd of people who listened to him were struck with amazement. But Atticus and Eugenius, with the young man raised from the dead, threw themselves at the apostle's feet together, and entreated him to intercede with the Lord on their behalf. At length, St. John gave this answer to their entreaties, that they should do penance for thirty days, during which time their chief prayer to God should be that the golden twigs should be restored to their primitive state, and the stones become as worthless as they were at first. It turned out, however, that the thirty days elapsed without the gold being changed into twigs, or the jewels into pebbles. The brothers then came to the apostle in great distress, and besought his clemency with many tears and prayers. Compassionating their grief and penitence, and moved by the intercessions of the multitude on their behalf, the apostle then ordered the twigs to be carried back to the wood, and the pebbles to the beach, restored to their own nature. Upon which, the two brothers recovered the grace they had forfeited, so that, as they had done before, they cast out devils, healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, and performed many miracles in the name of the Lord.

While the name of John was in every one's mouth, and his character revered, not only at Ephesus, but through the whole province of Asia Minor, that city became the scene of tumults raised by the idol-worshippers. The heathen, roused to frenzy, dragged John to the temple of Diana, and used all their efforts to induce him to join in their impure sacrifices. But he, inspired by the Holy Spirit, proposed to them that they should accompany him to the church dedicated to Christ, and, invoking the aid of Diana, lay it in ruins by her power; while, if they failed of success, he would, in the name of the God he served, overthrow the temple of Diana and destroy her image. Reason would convince them that, if he did this, they ought to abandon their vain superstition, and follow the path of the

true and right faith. A proposal of this sort was suited to the popular impulse, although some few objected to affairs being put on such an issue. And now John gently exhorted the crowd to stand aloof while he with a devout mind prayed audibly to Almighty God. Immediately the temple and all its shrines fell to pieces and were ground to powder, like dust scattered by the wind from the face of the earth. The same day twelve thousand heathens, not counting women and children, were converted and received baptism in the name of the holy Trinity. Then Aristodemus, who was chief pontiff of all the idol temples, at the instigation of the evil spirit, stirred up the commonalty to a new insurrection, in which citizen was ready to fight against citizen. Upon which John, whose loving mind was bent on preserving peace, addressed himself to Aristodemus, saying: "Tell me, O Aristodemus, what I can do to abate your indignation." The pontiff replied: "If you desire that I should believe in your God, drink the poison which I will give you, and should you escape death it will be manifest that yours is, indeed, the true God." The apostle assenting to this proposal, Aristodemus, to strike terror into him, went to the proconsul and begged of him two culprits who lay under sentence of decapitation for their crimes. Having obtained his consent, they were brought into the forum, and there, having drunk poison in the presence of the apostle and all the people, forthwith expired. Then the blessed John, standing over their dead bodies, fearlessly took into his hands the poisoned cup, and making the sign of the cross over it, with devout prayers, he recounted to all who were within hearing the marvellous works of God. Having ended his discourse, he armed himself with the sign of the cross, and, draining the cup to the dregs, remained uninjured, offering thanksgiving to God. Upon which the spectators shouted: "There is one only true God, and John is his prophet."

Meanwhile, Aristodemus, after narrowly watching the apostle for the space of three hours, and perceiving that he neither looked pale nor exhibited any signs of fear, was so far from yielding to the truth that he hardened his heart against it, though the by-standers complained loudly of his withholding his belief. At last, he required that the

prisoners who had died by the poison should be restored to life, upon which all doubt would be removed from his mind. The crowd, however, were incensed with rage, and threatened that they would set fire to his house and throw him into the flames if he ventured further to persecute the Lord's apostle. Whereupon, John, perceiving that a desperate conflict was impending between the faithful and the unbelievers, interposed and thus addressed the surrounding throng: "Patience is an exemplary virtue, one of the divine graces which it is our duty to imitate. If then Aristodemus is still held in the bonds of unbelief, let it be ours to set him free; and I will never desist from my undertaking until I have found a remedy for his disordered mind, like a skilful physician who perseveringly adapts his cure to the various forms of his patient's disease. In the case of this distempered man, if what has been done already fails of restoring him to a sound mind, we must do something which hitherto has not been tried." He then called Aristodemus to him and invested him with his own tunic, while he himself stood covered with his mantle, and gave these directions to the pontiff: "Go, and, stretching yourself upon the corpses of the deceased malefactors, say: "John, the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath sent me unto you, that in his name you may be restored to life, and that all may know that life and death obey Jesus Christ, my Lord and master." Aristodemus obeyed the apostle's command, and, struck with astonishment at the restoration of the dead men, worshipped John, and, hastening to the proconsul, eagerly related to him all that had occurred, and then with a wise determination, he said to the proconsul: "Let us go to the apostle, and implore his pardon on bended knees." This they accordingly did, and John, lovingly receiving them, offered up on their behalf prayer and thanksgiving to God, and enjoined on them a week's fasting. At the expiration of this, the apostle baptized them, with their parents, their kindred and their whole households; and they destroyed their idol images, and dedicated a church to the honour of St. John, in which he was afterwards buried.

When, at last, the blessed John was ninety-nine¹ years of age, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him with his disciples

¹ In the original legend we read seven.

saying: "Come unto me, for it is time that thou shouldest sit down to feast, with thy brethren, in my kingdom," Then John, arising, prepared to depart; but the Lord said to him: "On the Sunday, which is the anniversary of my resurrection, three days hence, thou shalt come unto me:" and having thus spoken ascended to heaven. On the Lord's day following, therefore, the whole multitude of the faithful assembled with John in the church erected in his name, where he celebrated the divine mysteries from cock-crowing to the third hour, when he addressed the congregation, saying: "Brethren and fellow servants, co-heirs and partakers of the kingdom of God, ye know what gifts and graces, and signs and miracles, together with doctrine, our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to you through my ministry. Henceforth continue without ceasing to walk in his commandments, for the Lord is pleased now to call me out of this world."

Thereupon he caused a grave to be dug near the stately altar, and the earth thrown up to be carried out of the church. He then descended into the grave, and, lifting up his hands to the Lord, said: "O Lord Jesu Christ, at thy summons I come, with thanksgiving, to the heavenly banquet to which thou hast graciously vouchsafed to invite me, knowing that I have desired thee with my whole heart. Beholding thy face, I am restored to life even from the tomb. The odour of thy presence sheds in my heart desires of everlasting life. Thy voice is sweeter than honey, and thy words far beyond angelic eloquence. I have committed to writing thy works which my own eyes have seen, and thy words which I heard with my own ears. And now, Lord, I commend to thee thy children which their virgin mother the church hath regenerated in thy name by water and the Holy Ghost. Receive me now, that I may join the company of my brethren, with whom thou appearedst to call me to thy presence. Open unto me the gate of life and lead me to the heavenly banquet, in which all thy faithful disciples feast with thee. For thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, didst become the Saviour of the world. To thee, therefore,

¹ *Quadratum*, four-square.—*Duchesne*. The reading of the French Historical Society is *quadratam*, applied to the grave.

we give thanks for ever and ever." And when all the people had answered "Amen!" the apostle was surrounded, for the space of an hour, with a light so effulgent that no eye could bear to look on it. It was then discovered that the grave had been filled up, and contained manna only, which the place produces to the present day,¹ being distinguished by the multitude of miracles in honour of him who was in an especial manner our Lord's beloved disciple. Crowds resort to the spot, pouring out prayers and supplications to God, receiving through the merits of St. John, the apostle and evangelist, answers to their petitions, and obtaining by his intercession the relief they implore from their diseases and sufferings. Among whom let me, sinner that I am, present myself, humbly paying my devotions, and pouring forth my heart in prayer, with faith and hope, to the beloved disciple of our Lord:—

"O blessed John, our Lord's familiar friend, who wert chosen by the same Lord Jesus Christ to be a virgin, and, being loved more than others, and, specially taught in the heavenly mysteries, became his most distinguished apostle and evangelist, I humbly implore thy aid; beseeching thee, that unworthy as I am, yet being thy devoted follower, thou wouldest vouchsafe to listen to my petitions. Pity, I beseech thee, the pains and sorrows which I continually suffer, and, regarding my manifold infirmities of body and troubles of mind, cause them to be effectually removed by virtue of thy living merits and devout prayers to the Lord on my behalf, that being cleansed from my sins I may be worthy to join, without ceasing, in the heavenly worship, and with the white-robed company of the faithful, offer eternal praises to the Lord God of Sabaoth. Amen!"

CH. VI. *Life of St. James the Less—Account of his martyrdom from Hegesippus.*

JAMES the less, the son of Alphaeus, is called in the Gospel our Lord's brother, because Mary, the wife of

¹ The manna produced at the tomb of St. John is spoken of by St. Augustine, Gregory of Tours, and other ecclesiastical writers as late as the eighth century. Our author appears to adopt the opinion put forth by St. Ephrem and others, that St. John did not actually die, or that he was immediately restored to life. The opinion was founded on a well known passage in his gospel, ch. xi. 22, 23.

Alpheus, who is named by John the Baptist Mary the wife of Cleophas, was the aunt of our Lord's mother. Immediately after the ascension, James was ordained by the apostles bishop of Jerusalem, which see he filled during thirty years. He was held in deep reverence by all the other apostles, both on account of his great sanctity and his kindred to our Lord; so that, however they were dispersed in their mission of preaching the gospel through distant regions, they, from time to time, resorted to him as their common father, and humbly implored his counsels, as their master, when occasion required. At length, in the seventh year of Nero's reign, while James was preaching Christ the Son of God, at Jerusalem, he was thrown headlong from that temple by the Jews and stoned to death, and buried there near the temple on the first of May.¹

Hegesippus,² a holy and learned man, who lived near the apostles' times, mentions James the Just in the fifth book of his Commentaries; relating that after the death of Festus, who succeeded Felix as proconsul of Judæa, while the province was without a governor and chief before the appointment of Albinus, James, the brother of the Lord, was cruelly martyred by the Jews. He was sanctified from his mother's womb; wine or strong drink he never tasted, nor ate flesh; steel never approached his head, nor were his limbs anointed with oil, and he never used the bath. He wore no garments made of wool, but contented himself with a wrapping of coarse cloth. He spent his time in solitary prayer for the pardon of his people, until, by continual kneeling, his knees became callous, like those of a camel. His marvellous self-denial and rigid virtue obtained for him the surname of the Just, and of Oblias, which signifies the defence of the people.

¹ St. James the Less had the government of the church at Jerusalem committed to him by the other apostles, a few months after our Lord's ascension. He suffered martyrdom by order of the high-priest Ananias about Easter in the year 62, and consequently in the *eighth* year of Nero's reign.

² Hegesippus, the oldest of the church historians, was born about the beginning of the second century, and died about A.D. 180. Some fragments only of his *Ecclesiastical History* are extant. The present legend of St. James the Minor is an extract from it. See *Eusebius's Eccl. Hist.* ii. 23, and iv. 22.

A person belonging to one of the seven Jewish sects having asked him what was meant by Jesus being the door,¹ he replied: "It means the Saviour." The Jews, indeed, are divided among themselves into seven sects, all of which have departed from the way of truth. Thus the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Essenes and Galileans, the Hemero-baptists, the Masbuthæans, and the Samaritans,² glory in distinct names, and hold and defend with obstinacy the various doctrines which they severally adopt. Some of these, through the ministry of James, were converted to the faith of Christ. But when many of the principal Jews believed in Jesus, the scribes and pharisees were in great consternation, and said: "What remains, but that all the people should speedily believe that Jesus is the Christ?" They then, acting in concert, presented themselves to James, and courteously besought him to ascend a pinnacle of the temple at the feast of the passover, and bear a true testimony concerning Christ to the multitudes of Jews and Gentiles assembled at the feast, both from the neighbourhood and from distant countries. The apostle was filled with joy at the opportunity thus afforded him of declaring the truth, and gave his consent to what they entreated, though not according to what those wicked men designed; for the just man knew that this was directed by divine inspiration, and therefore it was that he acceded to their request. Standing, accordingly, on a pinnacle of the temple, he addressed the people with a loud voice, showing clearly and without doubt that Jesus, the Son of God, had fulfilled all that the prophets had foretold concerning him.

The apostle James, having now concluded his faithful discourse, the multitudes shouted with joy, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" But the pharisees and other enemies of the truth were greatly troubled, and, taking counsel together, exclaimed, "Oh! Oh! The Just one also is deceived." Then was fulfilled what is written in the book of Wisdom, "We will take away the just, for he is unprofitable to us."³ The pharisees now ascending to the place where he stood, said

¹ St. John x. 7.

² Our author has borrowed this enumeration of the Jewish sects from a quotation of Hegesippus in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, v. c. 22.

³ Wisd. xi. 12.

to him: "We entreated thee to disabuse the people of their error concerning Jesus, but thou hast given it strength;" to which James replied, "I have opened their eyes to their error, and given them to see the truth." The pharisees therefore finding that the multitude received with joy the preaching of the apostle, and believed in Christ, threw him from the summit of the temple and began to stone him. But he fell on his knees praying, "O Lord, my God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." While he was thus praying, and stones were being showered upon him, one of the priests, a son of Rechab, cried out, "Spare him, I beseech ye, spare him, what do ye? The Just one whom you are stoning prays for you." Then one of the pharisees, in a frenzy of rage, seized a fuller's beam and struck the apostle violently on the head and beat out his brains. Thus was the martyrdom of the confessor of Jesus Christ accomplished, and he was interred near the temple on the calends [1st] of May.¹

Shortly afterwards, Vespasian waged war against the Jews, which the wisest of them believed was ordained by divine Providence as a retribution for their cruelty to James the Just, as is clearly seen in the works of Josephus, the celebrated Hebrew historian. While the unbelieving Jews were exposed to double peril, the church of God, triumphing in a true faith and saving grace, invokes the help of her intrepid warrior in her daily conflicts with pure devotion and in these exalted words: "Have compassion, O Jacob the Just, brother of our Lord, on us who are puffed up with pride and vainglory and polluted with the lusts of the world; mercifully hear our prayers, and procure for us the joys of the divine light. Thou who didst pray for thy enemies, vouchsafe thy aid to us who are devoted to thee, that we may obtain the everlasting reward. Amen."

CH. VII. *Life of St. Philip—Legend from Abdias of the conversion of the Scythians—Predicts his own death.*

PHILIP is interpreted *the lamp's mouth*; by which name it is signified that he was entirely open to the infusion of a twofold charity, obeying the divine commands and imbued

¹ The martyrdom of St. James took place about the 10th of April, 62, and not the 1st of May, as our author states, probably from that day

with sacred graces; so that, like a shining lamp, he enlightened barbarous races by his bright example and true doctrine. Born at Bethsaida, a town of Galilee, he was among the first who followed the steps of Christ. After our Lord's ascension he preached the gospel during twenty years to the Gauls or Galatians, and Scythians, thus bringing different nations to the knowledge of the true light. It happened while he was in Scythia that, being seized by the heathen and dragged before an image of Mars to compel him to sacrifice to the idol, an enormous serpent issued from the base of the statue and struck dead the son of the pontiff, who was serving the fire for the sacrifice, as well as the two tribunes who governed the province, and whose officers held the apostle Philip in bonds. The venom exhaled by the serpent also infected all who were present, so that they began to faint and to exhibit symptoms of severe disorder.

Then Philip exhorted them all to believe in God, and to throw down and break in pieces the statue of Mars, fixing in its place the cross of our Lord, as the object of their adoration; adding that, if they did this, the languishing would recover, the dead be restored to life, and the deadly serpent be put to flight in the name of Christ. Those who were suffering immediately exclaimed in the bitterness of their pains: "Restore our strength and we will cast down the statue." The apostle thereupon called for silence and exorcised the serpent in the name of the Lord, commanding it to depart forthwith, and without injuring any one, betake itself to the wilderness and dwell in solitary places far from the paths of men. Upon this, the fierce serpent went forth and, gliding quickly away, was no more seen. The apostle also in the name of the Lord raised to life the son of the pontiff and the tribunes who had been struck dead, and also restored to health the crowd who were infected by the serpent's venom. All those who had persecuted Philip repented, and were ready to worship him, supposing him a god. But he, diligently instructing them for a whole year, imbued their minds with the knowledge of the supreme God, and

having been selected by the church for celebrating his feast. The oldest martyrologies placed it on the 25th of March. Its being transferred to the 1st of May seems to have arisen from the dedication on that day of a church built to his honour at Rome in the sixth century.

zealously sowed in the hearts of the believers all that belonged to the true faith. Many thousands were thus converted and baptized by the apostle.

By the abundant aid of divine grace, Philip also built many churches, and ordained in them bishops and priests, with the other ecclesiastical orders. Being recalled to Asia by a revelation, he took up his abode at Hierapolis, where he eradicated the malignant heresy of the Ebionites, who deny that Jesus was the Son of God, and do not believe that he took a true human body in the virgin's womb. Two of Philip's daughters accompanied him, consecrated virgins, by whose ministry the Lord increased the numbers of such holy women. The apostle himself, seven days before his death, assembled the priests and deacons, with the bishops of the neighbouring cities, and predicted in their presence that he should live only seven days longer, and he enjoined them all to stand firmly in the faith, and to be always mindful of the doctrine of the Lord. Then the blessed apostle, having exhorted the people at great length, departed in the Lord in the eightieth year of his age and on the 8th of May, his sacred remains being interred at Hierapolis. Some years afterwards his two daughters were buried there, one on his right the other on his left; and many miracles are performed by the merits of the apostle in answer to faithful prayers; and there resort affianced spouses, and joyfully chant with loud voices: "Prostrate before thy tomb, O Philip, mouth of the lamp, we beseech thee to cause our petitions to reach the ears of the Almighty Judge, that we may be saved from the punishment we have deserved and obtain the heavenly joys for which we pray. Amen.¹"

CH. VIII. *The early ecclesiastical legends to be received with caution—Extracts from those relating to St. Thomas—His acts in India—His martyrdom—Translation of his relics to Edessa.*

THOMAS signifies *an abyss*, and Didymus *a twin*, because this apostle, like our Saviour, was full of grace and heavenly

¹ This legend of St. Philip is almost literally borrowed from the false Abdias, forming the tenth book. All that is really known of this apostle is, that he preached the faith in Phrygia, where he was interred,

gifts. He preached the gospel to the Parthians and Medes, the Hircanians and Persians, the Bactrians and Indians, and suffered martyrdom in the city of Calamine the 12th of the calends of January [21st of December] not long afterwards he became illustrious by numerous miracles in the city of Edessa.

We find many variations in the accounts given of the apostles, arising both from their remote antiquity, and from the vast distance of the regions in which the labourers in Christ's field preached to the barbarians, who so widely differed from the Romans both in their customs and in their languages. We may therefore have our doubts of some things which have been handed down to us respecting the holy apostles, because they have come to us from authors but little known; and more especially because pope Gelasius and other learned doctors have pronounced them to be apocryphal. The illustrious prelate, St. Augustine,¹ also hesitated respecting some works of this description, and has furnished an example against Faustus the Manichean, in his scrupulous researches in regard to the life of St. Thomas. What I have remarked on these contradictions, which are discovered in ancient records through all parts of the world, is not intended to disparage the accounts of the miracles of holy men, but that whatever is recorded of the apostles or other saints by the diligence of early writers should be examined with extreme caution,² for the confirmation of the faith and the edification of manners. I will now, in the name of God, pursue briefly my narrative of St. Thomas's journeyings, which were abundantly fruitful, his preaching

with his two daughters, who were virgins, and are often confounded with the daughters of Philip the deacon. It is supposed, from a passage in Irenæus, that the apostle survived at least till the year 81.

¹ St. Augustine against Faustus the Manichean, xxii. 79.

² Considering the age in which Ordericus Vitalis flourished, this caution, and the doubts just before expressed as to the apocryphal character of many of these early ecclesiastical records, do credit to the author's judgment and candour. The passage may be taken as a sort of protest, once for all, that although he has inserted in his history large extracts from these legends, they must be taken for what they are worth. Considered as religious romances, many of them are curious specimens of the popular literature of the age in which they were written.

Christ with glorious success, and his painful passage, by martyrdom to eternal life.

Thomas Didymus being at Cæsarea, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and commended him to Abbanes the minister of Gondafor, king of the Indians, who invited him to return with him to India, and build a royal palace after the Roman manner. During the voyage Thomas conversed mysteriously with Abbanes on the knowledge of his art, and engaged to execute wonderful works of all kinds in marble and wood. On the seventh day they reached Andronopolis, after a prosperous voyage, and as they were landing were struck with the sounds of voices singing to the music of flutes and pipes and harps. They learnt that the king of that city was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Pelagia with Dionysius. Heralds proceeded through the streets, proclaiming that all should come to the royal banquet, whether rich or poor, nobles, citizens or strangers; and that whoever refused would offend the prince. Abbanes and Thomas, therefore, presented themselves among the guests; but Thomas, as was his habit, took no part in the merriment and the feast, but was wholly occupied in heavenly contemplation. Meanwhile, a Hebrew female singer, with a flute in her hand, went round the tables singing such melodies as any of the guests required; but when she came near St. Thomas, she stood lingering before him, for observing that he neither ate nor drank, but that his eyes were raised to heaven, she comprehended that he was a Hebrew, and a worshipper of the Lord of heaven. Rejoicing therefore at finding one of her own race, she began singing in her mother tongue: "The God of the Hebrews is one only God; the Creator of all things; who made the heavens and the earth, and laid the foundations of the seas." On hearing this, the apostle prayed more fervently, desiring the Hebrew girl to repeat the sacred words she had sung, with greater care. The steward of the feast, however, rebuked St. Thomas because he neither ate nor drank, buffeting him on

² In other legends of this saint, the name of this place is written *Mandrinopolis*. It is supposed to be the present Aden, a small sea-port at the mouth of the Straits of Babelmandel, at the entrance of the Red Sea, now well known from its having become a station on the overland route to India.

the face. The apostle then predicted in Hebrew what would presently befall him before the end of the banquet. And thus it happened; the steward going forth to draw water from a fountain, a lion attacked him, and, after sucking his blood, departed. Dogs came and devoured his limbs, and one of these animals, which was black, came into the guest-chamber carrying in his mouth the right hand which had buffeted the apostle. The guests were struck with astonishment at this spectacle, but the Hebrew singer, who alone understood the apostle's prediction, threw down her flute, and running to him began to kiss his feet, exclaiming: "This is either a prophet or an apostle of God: for when the steward struck him he foretold this catastrophe in the Hebrew tongue, saying, 'I shall not rise from this banquet until I see that hand brought hither by a black dog.'"

The king, inquiring the cause of the disturbance and hearing what had happened, called the apostle aside, and entreated him to give his blessing to his daughter and her husband. St. Thomas therefore accompanied the king to the bride-chamber, and placing his hands with prayer on the heads of both the espoused, gave them his blessing in the name of God, repeating also the names of the patriarchs. The apostle was then leaving the chamber, conducted by the bridegroom, when a branch of a palm-tree loaded with fruit, suddenly appeared in the hand of the young prince. It filled him with delight, and he ran quickly to the bride and plucked the fruit for her to taste; and when they had both partaken of it, they suddenly fell asleep, and both dreamed the same dream. They saw, as it were, a mighty king with a jewelled crown and ornaments, who stood between them, and embracing both, thus addressed them: "My apostle hath given you his blessing, to the end that ye may be partakers of everlasting life." On their waking, each told the other the vision they had seen, when, behold St. Thomas stood in their presence, saying: "My Lord and King, who just now spoke to you in the vision, brought me in hither, although the doors are shut, in order that the blessing I gave you may be brought to good effect. Yours is the innocence which is the queen of all virtues, and the fruit of everlasting salvation. Virginitv is the sister of angels, and the earnest of all felicity; virginitv is the victory gained

over the passions, the trophy of faith, a triumph over the enemy, and an assurance of eternal rest. For from corruption springs uncleanness, from uncleanness guilt, from guilt dismay.

St. Thomas having discoursed thus, and more at large, in praise of virginity, and on the foulness of lust, with the many inconveniences which frequently arise from carnal intercourse, Dionysius and Pelagia thankfully listened to the teaching of the apostle, and thereupon two angels appeared to them: "We are angels," they said, "sent by God, in consequence of the apostle's blessing, that as long as you observe his precepts, we may offer to the Lord all your petitions."

Instructed by these and other pious monitions, the husband and bride threw themselves at the apostle's feet, saying, "Confirm us in all truth, that nothing relating to the knowledge of God be wanting to us." The apostle answered, "I will come to you the following night, and fully instruct you before I depart." He came accordingly, and having initiated them both into the mysteries of eternal life, he sanctified them by the water of baptism. After these events he resumed his voyage; but in the course of time he sent them one of his disciples, whom he ordained priest, in order that he might be stationed and establish a church in that city, in which a multitude of people were converted to God. It became the seat of St. Thomas the apostle, and the Catholic faith is held there to the present day. Dionysius became bishop, his wife received from his hands the consecrated veil, and after his death completed her twofold martyrdom; having renounced her marriage rights, she refused also to sacrifice to idols. She was consequently beheaded for her confession of Christ; and the following inscription was placed over her tomb in the Greek tongue: "IN THIS PLACE LIES THE WIFE OF DIONYSIUS THE BISHOP, AND DAUGHTER OF THOMAS THE APOSTLE."

On their arrival at Hierapolis, a city of India,¹ Abbanes

¹ It was the tradition of the church in the time of Origen that St. Thomas carried the faith among the Parthians, and even into India. The French editors of Ordericus consider that there is no evidence of the apostle having penetrated into the south of the peninsula, "*Malgré la prétention des Portugais d'avoir retrouvé des traces et des monuments de*

presented himself before his king Gondafor, and informed him that he had brought with him a skilful architect whose name was Thomas. The king consulted with him on the plans of the palace he proposed building, and pointed out to him the site on which he intended to erect it. Thomas then took a rod, and measuring the ground said; "Here I shall place the gates; the entrance will be towards the east; this first space will be the vestibule; next will come an ante-chamber; then the hall of audience; the fourth space will be the banqueting room; the fifth, the winter chamber; the sixth the summer chamber; the seventh, the room for burning perfumes; the eighth, the warm baths; the ninth, the gymnasium; the tenth, the kitchens; the eleventh, the cisterns and tanks; in the twelfth will be the hippodrome and circular portico for the promenade."¹ The king having considered this arrangement, said to Thomas; "You are, indeed, an architect, and deserve to build palaces for kings;"

son séjour sur la côte de Coromandel." It is, however, well known in England that there is a church of native Christians of great antiquity on the coast of Malabar, whose traditions are that it was founded by St. Thomas; and the primitive simplicity and purity of their doctrine and institutions, with their secluded and independent existence, afford considerable presumptive evidence that their claims may be admitted. Geddes, in his history of this church, says that on the discovery of Malabar by the Portuguese in 1504, they found the south inhabited by the Christians of St. Thomas, so calling themselves on account of their having been converted to the Christian faith by the apostle of that name. They have always, or at least for 1300 years, been under the patriarch of Babylon. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who visited them a few years since, says in his *Christian Researches*, "We have as good authority for believing that the apostle died in India as that St. Peter died at Rome." St. Thomas is said to have landed from Aden at Cranganore, near which, at Paroor, is the oldest Syrian church dedicated to that apostle; and the tradition is that he continued there till he went to Melapoor and St. Thomas' Mount in Coromandel, where he was martyred.

¹ M. Le Prévost, the French editor of Ordericus, considers this curious enumeration of the various parts of a palace, which differs essentially from the ancient arrangement, to have been borrowed from a description of the palace of the dukes of Spoleto, about A.D. 814, in which there are found Byzantine innovations on the plan of the old Roman houses. This interesting account has been published by Mabillon (*Rerum Italic.* ii. p. 11) and by Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, iv. 11), and has been republished by Mazois (*Ruines de Pompeia*), who renders important assistance in determining the author's precise meaning. See note to the Paris edition of Ordericus (1838), tom. i. p. 311.

and the king departed, leaving with him a large sum of money.

The apostle, however, began to journey through the provinces and cities, preaching the word of God, baptizing those who believed, and distributing alms abundantly among the poor. He thus converted immense multitudes to the Lord, ordained priests, and built churches, and for two years, during the absence of Gondafor, established the faithful. However, when the king returned and learnt how the apostle had been employed, he ordered both him and Abbanes to be thrust into the lowest dungeon, bound in chains. But while he was thinking of having them flayed alive and then burnt, his brother Gad died, and as he was much beloved there was great lamentation. The barbarians, according to their usages, wrapped the corpse in purple and fine linen, adding jewelled ornaments, and the king commanded a monument to be erected to his brother of purple stone, and his body to be deposited in a sarcophagus of porphyry. While the workmen were preparing these magnificent works which delayed the performance of the funeral rites, Gad himself, the dead man, rose again the fourth day at the first hour, to the great astonishment and terror of all: and the wailings, which according to Indian custom accompany a royal funeral, were hushed into silence. Meanwhile Gad blamed the king his brother for designing to flay and to burn the favorite of Heaven, whom the angels obeyed. He related that he had seen in heaven a wonderful palace, planned in the manner Thomas had proposed, and reported besides much more on the merits of that holy man, and the secrets of heaven. He then hastened to the prison, freed the apostle from his fetters, and throwing himself at his feet entreated his pardon for Gondafor.

As the apostle was taking his departure, the king himself now rendered more humane, came to meet him, and prostrating himself before him entreated his forgiveness. And now the apostle, finding the opportunity favourable, applied himself to preaching amongst the barbarians and proclaiming the truth. Among other things he said: "Jesus Christ, my Lord, hath shown you great favour in that he hath revealed

¹ The word *memoria* is here used in the sense of *monumentum*. St. Augustine uses the phrase, *memoria marmorata*, a tomb of marble.

his secrets to you. Lo, your provinces are full of churches; prepare yourselves, therefore, that you may be sanctified." Such words and many more he addressed to the princes, instructing them in the faith and the true religion.

All India speedily heard the report of the wonders which the Lord wrought by the hands of his apostle, and great multitudes of people were gathered to him from the cities both far and near. They proposed to pay him divine honours, offering him sacrifices of calves and rams, as they did to their gods. Meanwhile king Gondafor, by the apostle's advice, commanded them to wait a month until the whole province was assembled, and that they should then do what he directed. Accordingly, at the expiration of thirty days, multitudes of people assembled on the plain at the foot of mount Gazus, among whom there were a great number afflicted with divers disorders. The apostle then desired them to gather all the sick into one body, and placing himself in the midst, he spread forth his hands to heaven and prayed on their behalf. When his prayer was finished, a ray of light darted upon them with such force that they all thought themselves on the point of being destroyed by lightning. They fell prostrate on the ground with the apostle, and remained in that position for nearly half an hour, being sensible that the gracious presence of God was among them; for many who had fevers, and the dumb, and the blind, and the lame, and those who had other disorders, were healed by the power of the Creator. All now rose from the ground, at the apostle's command, and each one, full of joy for his recovery, glorified the Lord.

Then the blessed Thomas mounted on a rock where he could see all the people, and be seen of them, and calling for silence explained to them fully his true doctrine. The Sunday following, nine thousand men were baptized, besides women and children. The apostle afterwards, in consequence of a revelation, undertook a journey to Upper India; and there all the people hastened to hear him, and, being witness of the signs and wonders which he wrought, were so astonished that they did not dare to despise his preaching. He cast out devils, gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, healed all diseases, both rheums and fevers, and raised the dead.

A certain woman named Sintice, who had been blind for six years, was so cured that no sign was left of her former infirmity. Hearing of this, the curiosity of Mygdonia, wife of Carisius, a cousin of the King Mesdeus, was excited, and disguising herself she mingled among her handmaids while the holy St. Thomas was preaching a saving discourse on the true God. The whole multitude believed at the apostle's teaching, and after a fast of seven days received baptism. Mygdonia, however, after hearing the apostle's discourse, would not again enter her husband's bed. Upon this, Carisius went to the king in great anger, and obtained permission to have the apostle arrested and thrown into prison. But Sintice conducted Mygdonia to the prison, and by bribing the gaoler obtained access to the apostle's dungeon. When he was informed of the faith of Mygdonia, he commanded her to return immediately to her own house, carefully close her chamber, and expect him. Accordingly at midnight the apostle appeared in the chamber as he had promised, and comforting Mygdonia instructed her in the faith and appointed her a seven days' fast. On the eighth, he returned in a similar manner, and baptized the believing woman, and all others who received the faith. Meanwhile Carisius, whose sister King Mesdeus had married, begged that the queen Treptia might be sent to his own wife to endeavour to recall her to her conjugal duties. King Mesdeus consenting, the queen went to Mygdonia, and lavishing caresses on her, used every effort to induce her to return to her former habits. But she, now confirmed in the faith of Christ, earnestly refused, and becoming a champion in the cause of truth, in her turn contended with Treptia, and ended by persuading her to yield to Christ. For she replied to that queen with endearing words, adroitly instilled into her mind a regard for the apostle, and gained her heart by a discourse of this kind: "My sister Treptia, if you knew all I have learnt, you would consider him not as a man but a god, for he gives hearing to the deaf, he has restored health in all manner of disorders, and sometimes he has even raised the dead. He teaches that there is another and immortal life, free from pain and all sorrow. This very night he restored life to a dead man; for Simforus, the captain of the soldiers, went to the prison and,

taking upon himself the safe custody of the apostle, received him from the gaoler and conducted him to his own house. The apostle having prayed, restored to life the only son of the captain, who lay dead. Even now he remains in that house, teaching all who come to him, and healing all disorders." Treptia answered: "If it be as you say, let us go and see this man; and if I find these things to be true, I also will immediately accept the faith. It is unwise not to seek eternal life, and not to believe such extraordinary gifts." They went therefore to the captain's house, but having entered were unable to obtain access to the apostle, who was engaged in laying his hands on people labouring under various infirmities. The queen, at the sight of so many miracles, exclaimed in astonishment, "Cursed of God be those who do not believe the works of salvation." Then a man was brought in by the apostle's command suffering from elephantiasis, of horrible appearance, with a hoarse voice, and his face rough with scabs. The apostle wept over him, and praying a long time on bended knees, laid his hand on him, supplicating God. Next, a boy appeared with a cheerful aspect, and, leading a leper from a retired corner, stripped him of his clothes, his skin also peeling off from his body like a tunic, or as when one flays a calf. Being brought to the apostle, he signed him with the sign of the cross, and having baptized him, caused him to be clothed in new white garments. At this spectacle the people magnified God, and the queen kissing the apostle's feet entreated to be baptized; and he, perceiving that the time of his departure from the body was at hand, baptized her with the rest who were present.

On the queen's return, she announced her conversion to the king, and expressed her determination to continue in the faith. Then the king's heart was troubled, and his anger being raised against Carisius, he exclaimed, "While I was endeavouring to recover your wife, I have lost my own; for Treptia is become worse to me than Mygdonia to thee." Whereupon he sent for St. Thomas, commanding him to be brought into his presence with his hands bound behind his back. The king on seeing him, commanded him to use his influence with the women he had deceived to induce them to return to their conjugal duties. Upon his

refusing this, and endeavouring to bring his persecutors to a saving faith, the king ordered iron plates to be heated, and the apostle to be placed upon them, standing with bare feet, until he fainted from pain. Immediately, however, a spring burst forth, and cooled the iron plates. Next, by the advice of Carisius, he was thrown into the furnace at the baths: but they were unable to heat the baths, and the apostle again departed unhurt. At last they attempted to compel him to offer sacrifice to the image of the sun. The statue was of gold, standing in a golden car drawn by four horses, and appeared to hold the reins loosely, while the car was whirled rapidly through the sky. In the temple heathen priests led the dance with barbaric rites, and virgins sung hymns to the melody of their lyres, with flutes and timbrels, and fillets and censers. The king and his courtiers having brought the apostle to the temple and exhorted him to sacrifice to this image of the sun, addressing the demon in the Hebrew tongue, he commanded him to come forth and obey his orders. The demon, having made his appearance, stood before the apostle, so that he was visible to him only; and the apostle talked with the devil in the Hebrew tongue, while no one knew what he said, or with whom he was conversing.

When, at length, St. Thomas had worshipped the Lord in the idol-temple on his bended knees, and in presence of the king had enjoined the demon, in Christ's name, to do injury to no one, but immediately to destroy the molten image, the idol instantly dissolved and melted like wax at the fire. Then all the priests raised shrieks, and the pontiff pierced the apostle through the body with a sword. The king and Carisius took to flight, and there was a great tumult among the people, as the greater part shouted for the apostle, and sought for his murderer that they might burn him alive. The apostle's body was honourably borne with hymns of praise to the church, and being embalmed with precious aromatics, great signs and miracles were wrought there, for demoniacs were freed, and all diseases were healed.¹

¹ These acts of St. Thomas are not borrowed directly from the false Abdias, but from some other legend which has altered some of the details, and shortened the conclusion. See note, p. 257, respecting the mission of St. Thomas to India.

A long time afterwards the Syrians obtained a promise from Alexander, emperor of Rome, on his return from the Parthian war after defeating Xerxes, that he would send to the petty kings of India to demand that the remains of St. Thomas should be restored to them.¹ The body of the apostle was therefore transported from India, and deposited in the city of Edessa in a silver coffer, suspended by chains of the same metal. There no idolaters, no heretics, no Jews can live.

Abgarus² was chief, or king of Edessa, when he had the honour to receive the letter written by our Saviour's hand, which is read by a newly baptized child, standing over the gate of the city, when any barbarous tribe advances to attack the place. The very same day the letter is read, the invaders either make peace, or retreat, in terror both of our Lord's letter, and of the prayers of St. Thomas the apostle, surnamed Didymus, who having touched the Lord's side cried out, "Lord, thou art my God."

George Florence Gregory, the venerable archbishop of Tours, writes that he had heard some particulars respecting St. Thomas from one Theodore who had lately travelled in India, and on his return related what follows, as well as other circumstances.

"In India, at the place where the body of the blessed apostle St. Thomas was first deposited, there is a monastery and church of vast size, and built and ornamented with great care. In this church the Lord works a great miracle. A lamp burning before the tomb of the apostle gives, day and night perpetually, a splendid light, by God's special provision, though it is neither fed with oil nor supplied with wicks. It is neither extinguished by the wind, nor is it injured by any accident, nor does the flame diminish, receiving its increase by virtue of the apostle in a manner unknown to man, who can only attribute it to divine power.

¹ Our author speaks of the expedition of Alexander Severus against the Parthians under their king Artaxerxes, founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, which was undertaken in the year 233. But we find nothing in the history of that emperor to countenance the demand here attributed to him. It is, however certain, that as early as the fourth century, the body of St. Thomas was supposed to be translated to Edessa.

² Agbarus.

At the city of Edessa where, as we have already said, the blessed remains of the apostle are deposited, at the feast of the anniversary of his translation, a great concourse of people assembled from foreign countries both in performance of vows and for the purposes of commerce, and during a fair held for thirty days there is free liberty to buy and sell without payment of any tolls. In these days, which happen in the fifth month, great and unusual favours are conferred on the people. No quarrels take place in the throng, and neither flies infest tainted meat, nor is there scarcity of water for the thirsty crowd; for although during the rest of the year water is drawn from the wells at a depth of a hundred feet; during the fair, if you only pierce the surface, springs burst forth abundantly. There can be no doubt that these wonders must be attributed to the apostle's power. When the days of the feast are expired, tolls are again levied, the flies return, the springs dry up; but rain sent by God's providence so washes the whole court of the church from the filth and rubbish accumulated during the fair, that that you would suppose the pavement had not been even trod upon."¹

Almighty God, our just and compassionate judge and patient rewarder, glorifies his saints, crowning them with ineffable honour, chastises mankind by his terrors, and in punishing, saves them by penitence. Let us supplicate him while we groan in this valley of tears, let us give him thanks for his unspeakable benefits, and let us hasten to him by keeping his commandments. Let us also pray to St. Thomas the apostle, surnamed Didymus, and confiding in his intercession, say in our chaunts:

"O Thomas, who didst touch the side of our Lord, we beseech thee by those sacred wounds which have taken away all the sins of the world, cleanse us from our guilt by thy prayers. We feel the cruel wounds of our sins; we groan in our trouble, and pray with tears: in pity offer for us thy powerful intercession to God the thunderer. Amen."

¹ The preceding paragraph is literally transcribed from Gregory of Tours, *De Glor. Martyr.* i. 32.

CH. IX. *Acts of St. Bartholomew—Legend of his preaching and miracles in India—Description of his personal habits—His martyrdom—His relics translated to Lipari and Beneventum.*

BARTHOLOMEW is a Syriac word, signifying the son of him who suspends the water.¹ It fell to this apostle's lot to preach in Lycaonia; afterwards he carried the gospel into Assyria and the third India. At length, when dwelling at Albano, of the greater Armenia, he was flayed alive by the barbarians, and beheaded by order of King Astyages, being interred on the 9th of the calends of September [24th August.] His sacred body was at first translated to the island of Lipari, and thence to Beneventum in the year of our Lord 809, where it is held by the faithful in pious veneration. Our careful researches will now be directed to the examination of the whole history of his passion, and the following brief account is inserted from ancient manuscripts.

According to historians, India is divided into three regions, which are reported to have contained five thousand towns, and nine thousand people.² The first India extends as far as Ethiopia; the second to the Medes; the third to the extremity, where it is bounded on one side by the region of darkness, on the other by the ocean. It was to this part of India Bartholomew came, and entering a temple in which stood the idol Astaroth,³ he made it his resting place according to the custom of pilgrims. On the apostle's arrival

¹ The word Bartholomew is evidently Syriac. Our author's version of it, *filius suspendentis aquas*, which is given literally in the text, seems like the *νέφελη γερῆτα Ζεύς*, "the cloud-compelling Jove," of Homer; but it is difficult to conjecture its origin. It is probable that Bartholomew really means the son of Tholomæa, or Tholomi, referring to the place of the apostle's birth, as Simon the Canaanite is called in the Syriac Cananaia.

² We cannot suppose that Ordericus would assign a population of only 9000 souls to a country containing 5000 towns. There must, therefore, be some error in the MSS., though they seem all to agree, and the enumeration is made in words, and not in figures.

³ The worship of this idol, the Syrian Astarte, was early introduced among the Hebrews (1 Sam. xii. 10), and encouraged by Solomon and Jezebel. Astarte was represented as a female, and like the Egyptian Isis and the Ephesian Diana, typified the moon, while Baal was worshipped as the sun.

Astaroth became dumb, giving no answers to those who consulted the idol, nor being able to succour those who were injured. The temple now became full of diseased people, Astaroth making no reply to those who daily offered sacrifice; the infirm therefore, who were attracted there from, distant parts, miserably bewailed their sufferings, and the idol-worshippers, neither profiting by their sacrifices, nor by cutting themselves according to their custom, went to another city where a demon named Berith¹ was worshipped, and offering him sacrifice, inquired respecting the silence of their own god, and other recent occurrences. The reply was this; "Your god is held captive, bound in chains of flame, that he cannot utter a word, nor scarcely breathe, since Bartholomew the apostle of God arrived in this country." They then asked him who this Bartholomew was; to which the demon answered: "He is the friend of the supreme God, and is come into this country for the purpose of expelling the gods worshipped by the Indians." The votaries of Astaroth said: "Tell us by what tokens we may distinguish him among the millions we see." The idol replied: "His hair is black and curling, his skin fair, his eyes full, his nose regular and straight, his ears covered by his long hair, his beard is long and but slightly grey, and his stature is of the middle height, neither long nor short. He wears a white tunic, without sleeves, fastened with purple clasps, over which is a white mantle having ruby coloured gems in the corners.² For twenty-six years he has worn the same clothes, which are neither soiled nor have they grown old. So also the sandals worn on his feet during the same period exhibit no signs of decay. A hundred times in the day he bends his knees before God, a hundred times in the night he rises to pray. His voice is clear as the sound of a trumpet. The angels of God are his companions, and per-

¹ See Judges viii. 33, and ix. 4, where this idol is called Baal-Berith.

² M. L. Prévost remarks that our author, or we should rather say the legend he copies, has given St. Bartholomew a dress, the Byzantine magnificence of which is little accordant with apostolic simplicity. The *colobium*, here translated tunic, was a vestment without sleeves, or having them very short and close-fitting, in opposition to the full sleeves of the *dalmatic*, which was substituted for it in the dress of the priests by Pope Silvester. However this may be, the whole description of the apostle is highly graphic and characteristic.

mit him neither to suffer fatigue nor hunger. His aspect is always the same, the same spirit animates him, he is always serene and happy. He foresees all things, knows all things, and speaks and understands the languages of all the nations of the earth. Even now he is acquainted with your inquiries, and my replies respecting him. The angels of God obey him, and are his precursors." Having said thus much and more, the demon was silent.

On their return, these people searched all the places frequented by strangers, narrowly observing their persons and dress; but for two days they were unable to discover the apostle. At length a demoniac named Seusticus cried out: "Apostle Bartholomew, thy prayers send fire through me." Upon which the apostle said: "Hold thy peace, and come out of him." And the man, who for many years had been tormented by an evil spirit, was freed from his power.

Polemius,¹ the king of that country, having heard of these occurrences sent to Bartholomew, entreating him to heal his daughter who was a lunatic, and bit with her teeth, or tore or beat, all who came within her reach. The apostle immediately arose, and accompanying the king's messenger, commanded the girl to be released from the fetters with which she was bound: and when the attendants were afraid to come near her, the apostle said: "I hold in chains the enemy who had taken possession of her; go then and loose her, let her wash and eat, and bring her to me to-morrow early;" they did, therefore, as the apostle commanded, and the demon was no longer able to torment her. Then the king loaded two camels with gold and silver, and precious stones and garments, and sent them to the apostle, but as he was not to be found, they were brought back to the palace.

At the first dawn of day on the morrow, when the king was yet in his chamber, and the door securely closed, the apostle appeared to him, all alone, and instructed him in the true belief, and the doctrines of salvation. He treated, in order, of the incarnation of the Son of God by the immaculate virgin, and of the thrice-repeated temptation, and the threefold victory.

¹ In the false Abdias, this prince is called *Polymius*, and the demoniac mentioned in the preceding paragraph, *Pseustius*.

The king Polemius, yielding to the apostolical teaching, particularly ordered the idol priests to sacrifice on the morrow. When therefore they were sacrificing at day break, the demon broke silence, complaining of the torments to which he was subjected by the angels. At the apostle's command he also openly confessed the frauds by which he had injured the people. Then the apostle said to the multitude; "See what a god is this, that you thought could heal you. Hear now the true God, your Creator, who dwells in the heavens; and if you desire that I should pray for you, and that all the sick now present be restored to health, overturn this idol, and break it to pieces. When this is done, I will consecrate the temple in Christ's name, and will here sanctify all by his baptism." Upon this the king commanded ropes and pulleys to be brought, but with all their efforts, the crowd was unable to throw down the image. Then the apostle said to them "Loose the fastenings." And when all were loosened, he commanded the demon to go forth and demolish the image; and he immediately obeyed, and broke in pieces the idols of every description. All therefore who were eye-witnesses shouted with one voice: "There is but one God who is almighty, and him his apostle Bartholomew preaches." Then the blessed apostle spread out his hands to the Lord, and prayed long for the salvation of all present. And when the multitude answered "Amen," an angel of the Lord, having wings and shining like the sun, appeared, and taking his flight round the four sides of the temple, engraved with his finger the sign of the cross on the corner stones. The apostle commanded the people also to make with their fingers the sign of the cross on their foreheads. He then showed them a gigantic Egyptian, blacker than soot, his features keen, his beard long, and his hair hanging down to his feet, his eyes flashing fire, and emitting sparks like red hot iron. Sulphureous flames issued from his mouth and his nostrils, he had bristly feathers, and wings like the sphinx,¹ his hands were bound behind him, and he was secured by chains of fire. This malignant devil, having been seen by all the people, was set free by the angel, and receiving a command that he should depart into desert places, where none of human kind

¹ The false Abdias for sphinx, reads *hystrix*, a porcupine.

dwelt and there await the day of judgment, uttering a fearful shriek with his terrible voice, he flew away and was seen no more. At the same time the angel of the Lord ascended to heaven in the sight of all.

Hereupon King Polemius, with his wife, his two sons, and his whole army, and all the people who were healed, and the inhabitants of his own city and of the neighbouring towns belonging to his kingdom, believing, was baptized; and laying aside his diadem and his purple, devoted himself to the apostle. Meanwhile, the priests and idolaters assembled from all the temples, and thus complained to king Astyages, the elder brother of their prince: "Your brother has become the disciple of a magician who takes possession of our temples, and breaks in pieces the images of our gods." While they were making these sorrowful complaints, the priests of other cities came with lamentations to repeat the same tale. Astyages, incensed, sent a thousand armed men in company with the priests to take the apostle wherever they could find him, and bring him in chains before him. Being brought to the king, and questioned by him concerning the true God, he replied with firmness. Meanwhile, it was told the king that his god Waldack had fallen down, and was reduced to atoms. Then he rent his purple robe, and commanded the blessed apostle to be scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded. And an innumerable multitude of people from twelve cities, who were believers, came with pomp and hymns, and transported his body to a spot where a noble church was dedicated to the apostle, and there they deposited his sacred remains. On the thirtieth day after the deposit, the king Astyages and all the priests were taken possession of by the devil, and coming to the church acknowledged the apostle, and by the just judgment of God fell dead. And great fear fell upon the unbelievers; and those who witnessed the manifest vengeance of God were converted to the faith, and baptized by the priests whom the apostle Bartholomew had ordained. The king Polemius had, in consequence of a revelation, been ordained bishop by the apostle, with the acclamations of the clergy and people. He worked miracles, and lived twenty years in his episcopate, when, having well ordered and established the infant church, he departed to the Lord.

Many years passed away ; and again a persecution was raised against the Christians. And when the heathen saw the concourse of people which flocked to the tomb of the blessed Bartholomew, offering him incessantly the incense of their prayers, they were roused by envy to carry off his body, and enclosing it in a leaden chest, they cast it into the sea. But by God's providence, the leaden coffin, floating on the waves, was carried to the island of Lipari, where it was revealed to the Christians that they should receive it with honour. It was therefore interred with suitable attendance, and a magnificent church built over the tomb, with a choir of monks to perform divine worship.¹

CH. X. *St. Matthew preaches in Macedonia, and finally in Ethiopia—According to the legend of Abdias, he disconcerts the magicians, and converts the king and nation—His martyrdom—Writes his gospel in Hebrew.*

MATTHEW, or Levi, as he relates in his own gospel, was a tax-gatherer, but being called from among the publicans he was added by our Lord to the number of his apostles, and endowed with much grace. He first preached the gospel in Judea ; afterwards in Macedonia. At length he suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia while he was celebrating mass, under Hyrtacus Adelphus, after he had converted and baptized in the faith of Christ the king Eglippus with many thousands of his people. He thus happily departed in the Lord on the eleventh of the calends of October [21st of September]. The following account of the preaching and passion of the blessed evangelist is copied from ancient histories.

¹ This legend is borrowed almost literally from the false Abdias. Nothing certain is known of the preaching of St. Bartholomew, or the circumstances attending his death. The received opinion is, that he carried the faith into Arabia Felix ; but the city of Albano, where the scene of his martyrdom is laid, was the capital of Albania on the shore of the Caspian Sea. The Emperor Anastasius, having built the city of Daras in Mesopotamia in 509, is said to have caused the relics of St. Bartholomew to be translated there, it is not mentioned from whence. About the same time they were believed to be deposited in the Isle of Lipari, according to the tradition followed by our author. Being profaned by the Saracens in 803, they are said to have been collected by a Greek monk, and carried to Beneventum the year following.

The apostle Matthew, after writing his gospel in Judea in the Hebrew tongue, by the divine command went among the Ethiopians, where he worked many miracles, and brought multitudes to salvation. Having come to the great city Nadaber, he detected the artifices of the magicians Zaroës and Arphaxath, who said that they were gods, and thus imposed upon the king Eglippus and his people. They rendered men motionless as long as they pleased: they had the art to blind them, and cause them to become deaf; serpents inflicted wounds at their command, which they healed by their incantations. Their fame spread through all Ethiopia, so that crowds flocked to these magicians from the furthest parts of the country, and the dupes worshipped their deceivers. Indeed, as the proverb says, fear causes more reverence to the workers of evil than love to the kindly disposed.

The merciful Lord, therefore, in his providential care for mankind, sent Matthew the apostle to the relief of the Ethiopians thus doubly black, both naturally and morally. The Ethiopian Eunuch Candace,¹ who had been baptized by Philip the apostolic deacon, upon seeing Matthew, threw himself at his feet rejoicing, and brought him with great reverence into his house. The friends of Candace resorted to him, and hearing the word of life, believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, many being baptized, when they perceived that the apostle nullified all the mischief which the magicians caused to men. In fact, these impostors wounded all whom they got in their power that they might have the credit of healing them; and those passed for being cured whose wounds no longer appeared. But Matthew, the apostle of Christ, not only healed those who had been hurt by the magicians, but all others who were brought to him, under whatever diseases they were labouring. He also taught divine truth to the people, so that all were astonished at his eloquence, he being able to discourse with ease in the Greek, Egyptian, and Ethiopic tongues. Candace, having asked him questions in confidence, and in a kindly way, the apostle clearly explained to him that the confusion of

¹ Candace was not the name of the eunuch baptized by St. Philip, but of the queen in whose service he was. Acts viii. 27. It appears to have been a name common to several queens of Ethiopia.

tongues occurred at Babel from man's presumption; and again how the Diety incarnate redeemed mankind, and overthrew the old enemy by Christ's humiliation; and how the Holy Spirit kindled the flame of inspiration in his elect servants, imparting to them the gift of tongues, and making them fully to understand the hidden wisdom of the holy scriptures. While the blessed apostle was engaged in freely opening to his hearers many life-giving truths from the treasures of wisdom, some one came and reported that the magicians, with their serpents, were near at hand. These serpents were crested, their breath was as a flame of fire, and their nostrils gave forth a sulphureous odour, sufficient to destroy those who inhaled it. Then St. Matthew crossed himself, and in spite of the remonstrances of Candace the eunuch, went forth to meet them; and as soon as he stood before the magicians, both the serpents lay down sleeping at his feet. Upon this the apostle said to the magicians, "Where is your art? Rouse the serpents from their sleep, if you are able." They accordingly endeavoured by their magical charms to rouse up the serpents, but entirely failed. A crowd had now assembled, and were astonished at what they saw. At length the blessed apostle commanded the fierce snakes, in the name of the Lord, to retire peaceably to their own place, departing without doing harm to any one. The serpents forthwith, raising their heads, began to depart, and passing through the open gates of the city, were never more seen.

The holy evangelist then addressed the people, who were full of joy, in an affectionate discourse, recounting to them in order the original state of man, the delights of paradise, the envy and craft of the apostate angel, the fall of Adam the first man, in consequence of his prevarication, and his recovery by the passion of the Son of God. While the apostle was thus largely discoursing on these abundant themes, his audience were suddenly startled by a tumult of grief in which lamentations were made for the death of Euphranon, the son of the king Eglippus. The magicians conducted his obsequies, and not being able to restore him to life, assured the king that his son was caught up by the gods into their assembly above, persuading him that he should be numbered among the divinities, and a temple

erected to his honour. But the queen Euphenisia received a wiser counsel from the faithful Candace, and holding the magicians in utter contempt, sent nobles of rank to bring Matthew to the king. Upon his entering the palace, she threw herself at his feet, and fervently and devoutly entreated him to restore her son to life. The blessed apostle commended her sincere faith, and prayed to Almighty God to give life to the dead. Then taking the young man's hand, he commanded him to arise in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and immediately the young man rose up.

At the sight of such a miracle the king was struck with fear, and causing a crown and purple robe to be offered him, sent heralds through all the towns and provinces of Ethiopia, proclaiming: "Come to the city, and see the Lord manifested in the guise of man." Great multitudes, therefore, assembled with tapers and lamps, with incense and offerings of various kinds for sacrifice: but St. Matthew thus addressed them: "I am no god, but the servant of Almighty God, who has sent me to free you from your errors, and bring you to the knowledge of the true God, that you may worship him. Take away this splendid crown, and the silver and gold; go and erect a temple to the Lord, in which you may assemble and hear the word of God together."

On hearing this, the crowd departed rejoicing, and sixty thousand men set about building a temple to God, so that the church was completed within thirty days. Matthew called it the Church of the Resurrection, in memory of the restoration of the king's son. It became his apostolic seat for twenty-three years, and he attached to it priests and deacons, ordained bishops in the cities and towns, and founded many churches. The king and queen, and the different tribes of Ethiopia received the baptism of Christ, and the magicians in terror made their escape into Persia. Innumerable miracles were worked by St. Matthew, which it is impossible to recount in detail. The blind received sight, paralytics were cured, demoniacs liberated, and even the dead were raised to life.

The most Christian king Eglippus departed to the Lord in extreme old age, and Hyrtacus Adelphus succeeded to the government. He desired to marry Iphigenia, the

daughter of the late king, a consecrated virgin who had received the veil from the apostle's hands, and now presided over a company of more than two hundred virgins. Hyrtacus, hoping for success in his suit through the apostle's influence, negotiated with him for that purpose: "Take," said he, "the half of my kingdom, so that I may be united in marriage with Iphigenia." Then the blessed Matthew commanded the king, and Iphigenia, and all the people, to assemble in the church on Sunday to hear the word of Almighty God; which was done accordingly. While strict silence was observed in the congregation, the apostle discoursed concerning celibacy, and a fitting matrimony with its proper results, expatiating on these subjects with wisdom and eloquence. He showed clearly that indulgence in food and the conjugal connexion were not sinful, though they may involve some degree of pollution. "Bodily uncleanness," he said, "might be purged by alms and good deeds, while sins could not be washed away but by the tears of penitence. If any one, after eating carnal food, presumes on the same day to partake of the spiritual food of the body of Christ, he is guilty of a double crime, indecency and presumption; not because he satisfied his appetite, but because he aspired to the privileges of the eucharist against order, and justice, and the laws of God. Thus, homicide and falsehood, though in themselves sins, may yet appear justified by their motives. For instance, if any one tells an untruth to protect an innocent person, and thus shields him against his enemy; or, if a judge condemns to death one malefactor, to save the lives of many innocent persons; in such cases the results are good and profitable. This plainly appears in the homicides of Goliath and Sisera, of Haman and Holophernes. Thus also when marriages are contracted, they are founded on a right principle, if they are engaged in with justice and sanctity. But if a king's servant should presume to lift his eyes to his master's betrothed bride, he would clearly commit not only an offence, but so grievous a crime, that he would deserve to be cast alive into the flames. His crime would be, not that he married a wife, but that he committed injustice against his superior." By this discourse and others of the like nature, the apostle St. Matthew dissuaded King Hyrtacus from marrying the consecrated virgin

Iphigenia, showing that he would incur the divine wrath if he presumptuously contracted matrimony with her. This only roused the king's wrath, and he departed in anger, while the apostle, full of determination and cheerfulness, continued his exhortations and prayers. Then he bestowed his blessing, before all the people, on Iphigenia, who had thrown herself at his feet, and gave the veil to all the virgins who were present. The whole congregation having now received the sacred mysteries, the mass being celebrated, returned to their homes, but the apostle remained near the altar where he had just consecrated the Lord's body, and was praying with uplifted hands when he received his death-blow. For then a soldier sent by Hyrtacus stabbed the apostle in the back and thus made him a martyr to Christ. On this being reported, the populace rushed to the palace with torches, and it was not without difficulty that the priests and deacons and other religious persons, by their pious remonstrances, prevented them from burning the king with all his court. Meanwhile, Iphigenia gave to the priests and clergy all the gold, and silver, and jewels she possessed, to enable them to build a church worthy to be dedicated in honour of the apostle, and the rest she ordered to be distributed among the poor. Hyrtacus, on his part, first employed the wives of his nobles, and afterwards the magicians, to persuade her to agree to his wishes. At last, when his suit entirely failed, he caused the building where she dwelt with the other virgins, serving God day and night, to be surrounded with flames. But when the fire was raging on all sides, an angel of the Lord appeared in company with Matthew the apostle, and comforting the sacred virgins, promised them speedy deliverance. Accordingly, before long, the Almighty sent a powerful wind, which swept the conflagration entirely away from the abode of his servant the virgin, and wrapt in flames the king's palace, until it was entirely consumed, with all his wealth. He made his escape, indeed, with great difficulty, saving his only son; but from that time he never enjoyed a moment's happiness. A powerful demon took possession of his son, and dragging him rapidly to the tomb of Matthew the apostle, the devil himself bound his hands behind him, and forced him to confess his father's crimes. As for the king, he was attacked by elephantiasis, and fell by

his own hand, having plunged his sword through his bowels, and thus expiated the apostle's martyrdom. All the people insulted his remains, and taking Behor, the brother of Iphigenia, who had been baptized by the apostle, raised him to the throne. He was twenty-five years old when he began his reign, which lasted sixty-two years, during which he maintained a firm peace with the Romans and Persians. All the provinces of Ethiopia were supplied with churches, and many wonderful miracles were wrought at the place of the martyrdom of St. Matthew the apostle. He was the first who published a gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he wrote in the Hebrew tongue, and which was discovered on his own revelation, in the reign of the emperor Zeno.¹ Our holy mother the church observes the festival of his memory on the eleventh of the calends of October [September 21], and lifts voice and heart to his honour with a sweet melody:

“Holy Matthew, powerful with thy twofold gifts, without ceasing pray to Christ our Lord for us, that we hereafter may escape the eternal gulf!”

CH. XI. *SS. Simon and Jude receive Persia for their province—Their acts and martyrdom.*

SIMON the Canaanite, or Zelotes,—so called to distinguish him from Simon Peter, as well as from the traitor Judas, who was called also Simon Iscariot,—was of Cana, a village of Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. Egypt was the station in which he was allotted to preside.

Jude, the son of James, had three names; for he was called Thaddeus and Lebbeus as well as Jude. He preached in Mesopotamia and the interior of Pontus. Both Simon

¹ This legend of St. Matthew is, like the preceding ones, extracted from the fictitious Abdias, with some omissions. So little is known of the life and death of this apostle, that it is not even certain he suffered martyrdom. His gospel is generally believed to have been composed in Hebrew, or rather in Syro-Chaldaic, soon after the death of Jesus Christ, or at least before any of the others. It was soon afterwards translated into Greek. The fact of a discovery of a MS. of this gospel in the tomb of Barnabas, about the year 488, has been already noticed, p. 112. It could not have been the original text, as our author alleges, but a Greek version, as the gospel of the day was read from it on Holy Thursday in the chapel of the palace at Constantinople after it was there deposited by order of the Emperor Zeno.

and Jude having travelled into Persia in company, after converting vast multitudes of the people of that country to the faith of Christ, suffered martyrdom on the fifth of the calends of November [October 28].

Crato, the disciple of these apostles, has given a long account of their acts during thirteen years, and their sufferings in Persia, comprising them in ten volumes, which Africanus the historian translated into Latin. Abdias also, who was ordained by those apostles bishop of Babylonia, wrote their memoirs in the Hebrew tongue, which were translated into Greek by his disciple Eutropius, from which a Latin version was also made by Africanus.¹ From these works I propose to make a short extract for the use of those who may wish to know the history of their preaching from the beginning, and by what end they left this world and departed to the realms above.

Now the holy apostles Simon and Jude, having gone into Persia by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, met there the two magicians, Zaroës and Arphaxath, who had fled from the presence of St. Matthew the apostle in Ethiopia.² The doctrine of these men was depraved, and full of deadly blasphemy against the Lord and his prophets. The apostles having arrived in Persia, fell in with Warardach, the general and commander of the king of the Babylonians, whose name was Xerxes, and who had engaged in war against the Indians, in consequence of their having invaded his frontier. On the apostles' arrival, the demons, who delivered false oracles to those who sacrificed to them, became dumb in all their temples, whereupon their worshippers resorted to the temple of a neighbouring city for advice. There the demons uttered groans, and intimated to those who came to

¹ "All the facts here alleged are apocryphal. We have no knowledge of any disciples of the apostles of the names of Crato or Abdias. There was no occasion for Julius Africanus, a Greek writer of the third century, to translate into Latin the stories attributed to the fictitious Abdias, because they were originally composed in that language."—*M. Le Prévost, note to the Paris edition*. It has escaped the learned editor's memory that a Crato, called "the philosopher," became the disciple of St. John at Ephesus, according to the account before given by Ordericus, p. 241; but he may not be the writer referred to in the text.

² See the legend in the account of St. Matthew, p. 271 of the present volume.

consult them that their own gods could not speak in the presence of Simon and Jude, the apostles of God. Then Warardach, the general, caused the apostles to be searched for, and on their being found, inquired who they were, and whence they came; to which they replied that they were Hebrews, and were come there on the errand of the salvation of men. Upon his entreating them to restore the power of speech to their gods, they poured forth a prayer, and gave permission. But the fanatics were immediately led away by the demons, who predicted that a great battle would ensue, and vast numbers be slain on both sides. The apostles ridiculed this prediction, while the general was greatly alarmed; but at their instance he deferred till the morrow despatching ambassadors to demand peace. The heathen priests being incensed against the apostles, and exclaiming that low persons, in tattered garments, ought not to be allowed to speak, or be listened to in a city so magnificent as Babylon, the general ordered both the apostles and these outrageous priests to be kept in custody till the morrow, and by the advice of the former, waited till then the issue of the affair.

The day following the word of the apostles was accomplished. The envoys of the general returned, mounted on swift dromedaries, with the ambassadors of the Indians, and brought intelligence that all had happened as the apostles had predicted. In short, the Indians restored the territories they had invaded, payed tribute, and concluded a treaty of lasting peace. The general, finding that the apostles had told the truth, as the event manifested, was enraged with the priests, and causing a great fire to be kindled, ordered them, with their accomplices, to be cast into the flames.

The apostles, mindful of our Lord's commands, threw themselves at the general's feet, scattering dust on their heads, and implored the pardon of their enemies, proclaiming loudly, to the admiration of all present, that such was the teaching of the God of the Christians.

In the end, Warardach ordered the priests to be numbered, and an account taken of all their possessions, in order that they might be made over to the apostles. The number of the priests attached to the temples was found to be a hundred and twenty, each of whom received from the taxes

a pound in gold: but the chief priest received four times as much as the others. Their wealth in gold, and silver, and vestments, and cattle was so immense that it could not be reckoned. All this the general offered to the apostles, but they utterly rejected the gift, and commanded it to be distributed to the poor.

At length, however, the general, having reported these proceedings to the king, enlarging on the apostles' merits, Zaroos and Arphaxad, who were then at court, took occasion to depreciate them, endeavouring to instigate a persecution of them, unless they consented to worship their gods. The general, on his part, defended the apostles; and at length a disputation was appointed to take place in the king's presence. The magicians, having here spoken freely before all the people, the advocates on the other side were dumb, and for the space of nearly an hour no one of those who before were so eloquent and loquacious could utter a word. At length the magicians permitted them to speak, but they found themselves unable to walk, and stepping backwards, could see nothing, though their eyes were open. The spectators were much astonished at this prodigy, and revered the magicians, more however from fear than love. This spectacle was exhibited from dawn of day till the sixth hour, when the advocates returned home in confusion.

The general related all this to the apostles, who were much beloved by him, and he assembled in his house the advocates who had been thus foiled, presenting them to the apostles of God, that they might learn how, in obedience to their instructions, they could triumph over the magicians. The advocates, seeing before them men in mean attire, were disposed to hold them in contempt; but Simon checked their insolence by his shrewd remarks. He reminded them distinctly that articles of little worth were often inclosed in coffers of gold, enriched with diamonds; while precious jewels were deposited in common boxes of wood; and that splendid vases were filled with vinegar, while rich wines were stored in vessels presenting externally a foul aspect. Thus a mean exterior not unfrequently conceals the eminent virtues of persons, who by their merits are especially pleasing to the supreme Creator.

Then the holy apostles gave salutary counsel to the advo-

cates, and commended him to God by prayers, signing them on their foreheads with the sign of the cross. Upon this, Zebedee and the other advocates, coming before the king, began to deride the magicians, who found no means of harming them. At length, in their rage, they brought in a number of serpents, to the great alarm of all the spectators. The king immediately summoned the apostles, who on their arrival filled their mantles with the serpents, and hurled them boldly against the magicians. The serpents instantly began to gnaw their flesh, till they howled like wolves, to the great joy of all who witnessed the tortures of those impious men. The king and all the people said to the apostles, "Let them die." But they answered: "We are sent to bring back from death to life, not to cast down from life to death." Then they prayed, and commanded the serpents to withdraw their venom from the magicians, and depart to their own place. But the magicians suffered still greater tortures when the serpents again gnawed their flesh and sucked their blood to eradicate the venom. When the serpents were departed, and the afflicted magicians, by the apostles' advice, had neither eat, nor drunk, nor slept, for three days, the apostles came to visit them, and instead of returning evil for evil, healed their wounds. But the magicians still persisted in their malice, and as they had fled from the presence of St. Matthew the apostle, in Ethiopia, so they now retreated, covered with confusion, before the two apostles, and raised against them the fury of the idolaters through the whole of Persia. They went about offering sacrifices in all the temples, and by their incantations caused men to be suddenly motionless, and then free to move; suddenly blind, and again restored to sight; now deaf, and then able to hear. Thus they imposed on those who sacrificed to idols, and were like themselves.

At the entreaty of the king and his general, the apostles continued in Babylonia, working great wonders in the name of the Lord, making the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the blind to see, and cleansing the lepers, and driving the demons out of the bodies they had taken possession of. In consequence they made many disciples, out of whom they ordained priests, and deacons, and clergy, in the churches.

The daughter of a very opulent satrap, who had been

seduced, was in great danger during childbirth, and the deacon Eustosinus was consequently accused of having debauched her. The apostles, hearing of this, required the parents of the girl and the deacon to appear before them, and had the infant also brought, which was born the same day, at the first hour. Having commanded the infant to speak, it said in a very clear voice: "This deacon is a chaste and holy man; he has never polluted his flesh." The parents insisted on learning who was the father of the child, but the apostles replied: "It is our duty to absolve the innocent, but not to make known the guilty."

Nicharon, the king's friend, while engaging in warlike exercises, was shot by an arrow in the knee, which could not by any means be drawn out of the bone. Then the blessed Simon invoked the Lord Jesus, and applying his hand, immediately drew out the arrow, and the man was instantly healed, so that not even a sign of the wound appeared.

Two most ferocious tigresses, having escaped from their dens, devoured all that came in their way. Then the people fled to the apostles of God, who invoked the name of the Lord Jesus, upon which the savage animals, which never could be tamed, became gentle as lambs. During the day they remained like sheep among the people, and returning in the evening to the apostles' cell, became its guardians when the apostles visited other cities. From hence they took occasion mildly to instruct the people, pointing out what men gifted with reason ought to do, and how they ought to obey God, by the example of the brute animals thus exhibited to their observation.

At the entreaty of the king and the people the apostles abode at Babylon one year and three months, during which period more than sixty thousand men, besides women and children, were baptized, the king and all his courtiers being the first to receive the faith. For they saw that by a word the sick were cured, the blind received sight, and the dead were raised. Abdias, who had accompanied the apostles from Judea, and had himself seen the Lord Jesus with his own eyes, was ordained bishop, and the city [of Babylon] was full of churches. All which being duly regulated, the apostles departed, followed by crowds of disciples, to the

number of two hundred and upwards, and they went through the twelve provinces of Persia and the cities thereof.

It is now time that the passion of the holy apostles should be related. The magicians Zaroës and Arphaxad, of whom mention has been already made, committed abominations throughout the country, pretending to be of the race of the gods, but always fleeing from the face of the apostles. They only remained in any city until such time as they understood the apostles were at hand. There were seventy priests of the idol temples in Sanir, who received from the king a pound in gold each, four times a year, when they celebrated the feast of the sun, that is to say, at the beginning of spring and summer, autumn and winter. The before-named magicians raised all the opposition in their power against the apostles, and by preceding them had it in their power effectually to do so.

The holy apostles, having passed through all the provinces, took up their abode at Sanir in the house of Sennes their disciple. But on a sudden, about the first hour of the morning, the priests rushed in a body to the house of Sennes, shouting terribly that the enemies of their gods should be given up. In short, they seized the holy apostles, and dragged them to the temple of the sun. On their entering the temple, the demons cried out through some who were possessed: "What have we to do with you, O apostles of the living God! since your entrance here the flames consume us." In a chapel of the temple towards the east there was a chariot of gold drawn by four horses, in which was the statue of the sun encircled by rays also wrought in gold. In another chapel the image of the moon was wrought in silver, having a car drawn by a yoke of oxen, all in the same metal. While the priests and magicians, with the people, were urging the apostles to worship the idols, they were conversing together in the Hebrew tongue on a vision of the Lord, whom they beheld calling them into the midst of the host of angels. The angel of the Lord also appeared to them, and comforted them. Then, procuring silence, they addressed the people, pointing out to them in a reasonable manner their error of idly wasting on the creature the worship which is due to God only; and that it was injurious to him to enclose in buildings made

with hands the sun and the moon which he had created from the beginning, and set in the heavens to give light through all generations. While all were in amazement, Simon commanded the demon to break in pieces the image of the sun and his chariot; Jude also, in like manner, commanded the image of the moon to be broken. Then two Ethiopians, with their black skins and naked bodies, and horrible features, were seen by all the people to come forth, and while crushing the images uttered hoarse and lamentable cries. Meanwhile the infuriated priests rushed on the apostles, and slew them while they were rejoicing and giving thanks to God. Sennes, their host, also suffered with them, because he refused to sacrifice to the idols. At that very time, when the heavens were perfectly serene, they shot forth bright flashes of lightning, which rent the temple into three parts from the highest pinnacle of the roof to the lowest foundation. Zaroes and Arphaxad were struck by the lightning and burnt to ashes.

Three months afterwards King Xerxes confiscated the property of the priests, and translated the bodies of the apostles with great pomp to his own city, in which he erected an octangular church, each of the angles containing eighty feet, so that its circuit embraced eight times eighty feet, the height being one hundred and twenty. It was built entirely of hewn blocks of marble, squared and faced, and the chapels were paneled with gilt plates. In the centre of the octagon was placed a sarcophagus of pure silver. Four years of incessant labour were employed in the erection, and it was completed on the birth-day of the two apostles; that is to say, the fifth of the calends of November [28th October], and worthy to be dedicated to the honour of the saints.¹ The faithful who venerate their martyrdom, which they suffered even unto death for the

¹ This is another of the legends borrowed from the fictitious Abdias. Nothing certain is known respecting the preaching and death of these two apostles. Others have made St. Simon the Cananite journey in Lybia, and even as far as England. As for St. Jude, cousin of our Lord, and brother of St. James the Less, some made him exercise his apostleship in Lybia, others in Persia. What appears more decided, is that he was married and left children. According to Eusebius, two of his grandsons, brought before Domitian as descendants of David, were sent home by that prince, and lived till the time of Trajan.

sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain heavenly gifts on that spot. We also, who, hoping in the Lord, are engaged in writing these memorials, set forth the praises of the blessed apostles who belong to the company of those who feast triumphantly with the great King, while we devoutly sing to their honour in the courts of Jerusalem, with the children who cried Hosanna to the Redeemer:—

“Blessed Simon and illustrious Thaddeus,¹ behold our grief and tears, that we, who through our fall deserve eternal punishment, may, by your intercession, obtain admission to heaven. Amen.”

CH. XII. *Election of St. Matthias—He preaches in Judea—and is there martyred.*

MATTHIAS, one of the seventy disciples, having been elected by lot among the apostles in the place of Judas, preached in Judæa, where he suffered martyrdom for Christ. His feast is celebrated on the sixth of the calends of March [24th February], when the reverend choir in devout procession thus chants their prayer to him: “O Matthias the just! raised by lot to the throne of the twelve, free us from all the bonds of guilt that, through thy holy intercession, we may come to the joys of the true light. Amen.”²

CH. XIII. *Apostacy of Judas Iscariot—Eulogy of the eleven apostles who remained faithful—Their history given in the preceding chapters.*

JUDAS, Simon Iscariot, was of the tribe of Issachar, and counted in the number of the twelve apostles. But inflamed with a fatal covetousness, having sold his master and Lord to the Jews for thirty pieces of silver, he lost the rank of an apostle, and, after a late repentance, miserably hanged himself. Even now there are many successors of Judas in the church, men who assume a sacred title without acting

¹ St. Jude is often confounded with Thaddeus, one of the seventy-two disciples who were supposed to have been sent to Edessa by St. Thomas. He is one of the apostles mentioned by St. Paul as having women in his company, which was very natural, as he was a married man.

² Some particulars respecting St. Matthias are to be found in the collection of the Bollandists, under the 24th of February, unknown to our author, because they were only introduced into the church in the twelfth century, by a monk of Treves. This apostle seems to have confined himself to Palestine.

worthily of it. Unworthy as he was, Judas had worthy and mystical names by which false Christians are typified in the church. For instance, Judas means *confessing*; by which name those are signified, who, as the apostle says, "profess that they know God, but deny him by their works." Moreover, Simon means *obedient*, by which word are signified hypocrites and deceivers, and those who obey falsely, not doing the will of God from love of him and desire of heaven, but speciously following the traditions of their elders, for vainglory and the applause of men. Many among them are blinded by their covetousness, like Judas Iscariot, and quitting the pursuits and the companionship of good men, fall readily into detestable crimes and become indissolubly entangled in the snares of sin, enjoying a transitory reward in the present life, and receiving some recompense for a certain propriety and exterior decency of conduct, they are elated with vanity; but in the future life they will wail, inextricably chained, in the loathsome dungeons of hell, and tormented for the sins they have committed with indescribable forms of punishment, without any hope of forgiveness.

The traitor Judas having withdrawn from the company of the apostles, what did those merit who remained faithful to the Lord Jesus? Unspeakable honour and eternal blessedness. Holy mother church holds, and every true Catholic faithfully believes, that the twelve apostles are truly blessed and exalted and partakers of everlasting felicity. The salt of the earth and the light of the world, the twelve hours of the eternal day, the fruitful branches of the true vine, the fellow labourers with Christ, and fellow heirs of his heavenly kingdom, their memories are every where cherished in the hearts of the faithful, and who are honoured by all nations who profess the true faith, and devoutly reckoned the teachers of the people and rulers of the churches, as being appointed by Christ judges of the world, strict censors of the reprobate, but kind helpers of the devout, and their constant intercessors. For, holding all worldly things in contempt, they indissolubly attached themselves to Christ who is the true vine and life eternal. And now they reign in heaven with the King of kings, joining with the angels in praising him for ever, and sitting on twelve thrones, judge, with the Lord, the twelve tribes

of Israel. I have searched out their acts as they are read in the church, and employed myself in abbreviating their histories, as I find them recorded in ancient books.

CH. XIV. *Companions and successors of the apostles—
St. Barnabas.*

I PURPOSE now to treat of the companions and successors of the apostles, and by God's help will give a faithful account of some of them in my present work. I enter upon this undertaking from no vain fancy that they need my commendation, of whom God himself is the praise, who reigns Triune through all eternity, and blesses his saints with everlasting rewards in his own presence; but my work is intended to exhibit my devotion to these blessed saints, and to obtain their favour, in order that I may piously obtain my own salvation through their intercession.

Joseph, surnamed Barnabas, that is to say, *the son of consolation*, and a native of the city of Cyprus, founded by Cyrus king of Persia, was joined with Paul in his mission to the gentiles the third year after our Lord's passion.¹ He was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord, and taking part with the apostles both in their joys and tribulations, ministered, as his name implies, the utmost consolation to the faithful.

In the first place, he sold the land he possessed and laid the price of it at the apostles' feet. He gave the hand of fellowship to Paul after his conversion, introducing him to the apostles by whom he was as yet unknown and suspected, and relating the account of his call to those who were ignorant of it. He was sent by the apostles to Antioch, where he rejoiced at seeing the grace of God manifested in the disciples, and by his preaching a great multitude was converted to the Lord. Thence he went to Tarsus to find Saul, and having found him brought him to Antioch, where both sojourned a whole year and taught much people: there the disciples were first called Christians.²

Barnabus and Saul, being compassionate and benevolent, brought the alms of the gentile believers to the brethren in Judea. On their return from Jerusalem, after accomplishing this mission, they joined John whose surname was

¹ Acts iv. 36.

² Acts xi. 29, 30; xii. 25; xiii. 1—48.

Mark, and continued at Antioch among the prophets and doctors. And as these were ministering to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Ghost said unto them: "Separate me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have called them." And being sent forth by the Holy Ghost they came to Seleucia, and then sailed to Cyprus. Afterwards they struck Barjesus, the magician, who was also called Elymas, with blindness for a time, converted Sergius Paulus the proconsul to the true faith, and brought great multitudes to the light of truth.¹

While, therefore, the elect walked in the way of faith and righteousness, the reprobates, inflamed with rage, made a tumult and drove the apostles out of their neighbourhood. But they, rejoicing and filled with the Holy Ghost, preached the word of God, and converted to the Lord great multitudes of Jews and Greeks.²

Coming to Lystra they healed one who was lame from his mother's womb; on seeing which miracle the people took them for gods, saying: "The gods are come down unto us in the likeness of men." And they called Barnabas Jupiter, and Paul Mercury. And the priest of Jupiter who was near the city brought oxen and garlands to the gates and would have sacrificed with the people. But the apostles, in horror of such an abomination, drove them away, and rending their clothes ran among the people exclaiming against it with much reasonable discourse, which with difficulty persuaded the crowd from sacrificing to them.³

After this they came to Derbe, preaching the gospel there, teaching many, and giving them instruction in virtue. And passing through several provinces in which they made known the word of God, at length they arrived at Jerusalem, and being received by the holy apostles told what wonderful things God had wrought by their means. At that time some evil disposed persons raised questions respecting the necessity of circumcision. Upon this the apostles took counsel and sent Paul and Barnabas to Antioch to allay the dissensions, who, coming there armed with an apostolic epistle, succeeded by their preaching in exterminating the impious heresy.⁴

¹ Acts xi. 29, 30; xii. 25; xiii. 1—48.

² Acts xiii. 49—52.

³ Acts xiv. 6—17.

Acts xiv. 6; xv. 1—21.

Like true pastors, they published the word of God, taught the ignorant, healed the sick, and anxiously devoted themselves to promote religion in every way. They therefore frequently visited the churches in which they set forth the true faith, using every precaution lest the neophytes should fall into heresy. For they knew how crafty were the wiles of Satan, and watched against the hearts of the regenerate becoming foul with the deadly seed of the tares. Afterwards, as Luke the evangelist relates, it seemed expedient that Paul should return to Jerusalem, and Barnabas to Cyprus his native city, having John, surnamed Mark, as his coadjutor in the ministry. He had been a gentile, and, with his companion Orduon, was in the service of Cyril, the high priest of the execrable Jupiter, but was baptized by Paul and Barnabas at a place called Iconium, and afterwards faithfully accompanied them in their journeyings.

At length, while the apostles just named were preaching in Pamphilia, and many, both Jews and gentiles, believed in the Lord, it was revealed to Paul by the vision of an angel in the night that he should quickly go to Jerusalem, and permit Barnabas to return to Cyprus. Having made known the vision, they prayed on bended knees, and kissing each other, bade farewell with many tears, and separated in the body, never again saw each other in this life.¹

Barnabas and John now visited Laodicea and came to a city called Anemoria,² where certain prudent and well-disposed gentiles, having heard Christ preached, believed, and being baptized, received the grace of the Holy Ghost. They then sailed to Cyprus, where they found Timon and Aristion, servants of the Lord. Timon was suffering from a burning fever, but Barnabas having laid his hands on him, with the holy gospel, invoking the name of our Lord Jesus, the fever immediately left him, and his strength was so restored that he followed with joy the Lord's saints.

By the instructions of the apostles, St. Barnabas always

¹ Acts xv. 2, 38, 39. It was not to return to Jerusalem that St. Paul finally separated from St. Barnabas; and their parting does not appear to have been so friendly as our author describes it. The sacred writer says, "The contention was so sharp between them, that they parted asunder one from the other."

² Pliny calls this place *Anemurium*.

carried with him the gospel of St. Matthew the apostle, and, wherever he found sick persons, laid it upon them, and they were immediately healed of whatever disease they laboured under. Barnabas also ordained Heraclius, who had been baptized by the apostle Paul, bishop, for the teaching of the faithful. Afterwards when Barnabas wished to gain admission to Paphos, Barjesus, the Jewish sorcerer, whom Paul had struck blind for a time, recognized the apostle, and opposing him to the utmost of his power, forbade his entering Paphos. The holy man, however, came to a certain place where he saw the heathens, both men and women, running naked in public games. His indignation being roused he cursed the temple; and immediately part of it fell down, from the foundation upwards, and many of the heathens were crushed and perished in the ruins, but those who escaped took refuge in the temple of Apollo. The illustrious champion of Christ now entered the city of Salamis, and finding there a synagogue of Jews, he constantly preached the gospel to them and converted many of the Jews to the faith of Christ. Upon finding this, Barjesus displayed all the malice of which he was capable, and raised a tumult against the holy apostles of God. The Jews were willing to arrest Barnabas and deliver him to the consul of Salamis, having first subjected him to much suffering and various kinds of tortures. At length, as they were dragging him to judgment, bruised and shaken with their ill-usage, they found that Eusebius, an illustrious and powerful man, and a relation of the emperor's, had landed in the island, and fearing that he would snatch their victim out of their hands, they fastened a rope round his neck and dragged him lacerated from the synagogue to the Hippodrome, and from thence outside the gate. There they made a fire round him and cruelly burnt him. Thus the blessed apostle, after many sufferings and long conflicts, was burnt for the love of Christ, and departed to everlasting joys. The impious Jews, not content with his death, collected his remains, and enclosing them in a leaden coffer, intended to throw it into the sea; but John Mark, with Timon and Rodon, carried off the holy body by night and deposited it in the crypt which had been formerly the habitation of the Jebuseans on the third of the ides [11th] of June. In consequence of this

secret interment the venerable remains lay concealed for a number of years, the Christians not being able to discover where they were buried. At length they were found, by the revelation of the apostle himself, in the time of the emperor Zeno and pope Gelasius, when they were gloriously enshrined with hymns and thanksgivings to the honour of God. Blessings are bestowed on those who piously implore them through the merits of St. Barnabas the apostle, of which may the abundant grace of God, which works without ceasing, make us partakers, who is the protector through all ages of those whom he has predetermined to life. Amen.¹

CH. XV. *Acts of St. Mark—Legend of his mission to Aquileia—Appointed first bishop of Alexandria—His apostleship there and in the Pentapolis—His martyrdom—His remains translated to Aquileia and Venice.*

MARK, the evangelist, was both the disciple and the scribe of St. Peter the apostle, whose son he was in baptism, and from whose dictation he wrote his gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is reported of him that he caused his thumb to be cut off that he might be disqualified for the priesthood, but was so far from being rejected by the apostles on that account that they elected him bishop of Alexandria. When St. Peter was at Rome, he called upon him to preach the gospel to the Gentiles in Italy. "Why," he said, "do you remain inactive with us? you are fully informed of all that Jesus of Nazareth did; arise and go to Aquileia, and there propagate among the people the doctrines of the true religion." Mark, having his province for preaching thus allotted, and receiving the episcopal staff, took the road assigned to him and arrived at Aquileia, which is the first of the cities of Italy. He found there a young man afflicted with leprosy, whose name was Ataulfus, son of Ulfinus, the first and most illustrious of the citizens; and having spoken with him, took him by the hand and arm, and immediately the hand and arm were cleansed of the leprosy. Perceiving this, the youth ran to his father, and told him

¹ This history of St. Barnabas is compiled, with some slight variations, from his Acts, alleged to have been written by his disciple John Mark. They are to be found in the collection of the Bollandists, 11th of June.

with joy what Mark had done to him. Upon this, Ulfinus hastening to the apostle, with a great crowd, found him sitting at the eastern gate, and implored him with eagerness to heal his son. Upon its being promised, if he believed, he declared his belief in the Lord Jesus; whereupon Mark baptized the young man, and he was entirely freed from the leprosy. After this cure Ulfinus also, with all his household, was baptized, and a multitude of the people besides, on the same day. After some years, Mark, desiring to see Peter, proposed to withdraw privately and go to Rome; but the people, discovering his design, assembled round him in great numbers at the dawn of day, and entreated him with shouts to appoint them a pastor. Then Hermagoras, being elected by the people, was taken by St. Mark with him to Rome. There he was ordained by St. Peter the apostle, first bishop of the Italian province, and after many miracles which God wrought by him among the people, he was martyred, with Fortunatus his arch-deacon, in the reign of the emperor Nero, under Sebastus the prefect, on the third of the ides [13th] of July.¹

As for the blessed St. Mark, he undertook the government of the church of Alexandria by the command of St. Peter the apostle, being the first who preached the gospel of Christ in the land of Egypt. He also proclaimed the true religion in Marmorica and Ammonian Libya, or the Pentapolis; the inhabitants of this country being uncircumcised idolaters, in the practice of all uncleanness. When therefore Mark arrived at Cyrene in the Pentapolis, and found the natives immersed in execrable wickedness, beginning with a discourse on divine things, he healed the sick in the name of the Lord, cleansing lepers, and expelling many evil spirits by his word alone. Numbers who witnessed these miracles believed, and destroying their idols, and cutting down their sacred groves, were baptized in the name of the Triune God.

After this, it was commanded him by a revelation of the Holy Spirit that he should go to Alexandria.² Mark there-

¹ The legend, which is evidently apocryphal, of this pretended patriarch of Aquileia is to be found in Mombritius.

² The text reads *Alexandriæ phanum*; perhaps employed as a synonym

fore took leave of the brethren, making known to them what had been revealed; and they accompanied him to the ship, and having broken bread together they parted from him, saying: "Jesus Christ prosper you in your journey." He reached Alexandria on the seventh day, and disembarking from the ship hastened to the city, when, as he was entering it, his sandal burst. "Truly," he said, "my journey is now at an end."

The holy man gave his sandal to a certain cobbler named Aniarius, to be mended; who, while at work upon it, sharply punctured his hand, exclaiming at the same time: "There is but one God." The blessed Mark hearing this said, inwardly rejoicing: "The Lord has prospered my journey;" and spitting on his right hand he anointed the man's hand, saying, "May this hand be healed in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God," and it was instantly healed. The cobbler, struck by the presence of such a man and the efficacy of his words, as well as by the modesty of his appearance, requested him to honour his house by eating bread with him. Mark entering with joy, pronounced a blessing, with prayer, and made known the tidings of the gospel to all who heard him, declaring that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. He subsequently added to his instructions signs and wonders in the name of the Lord, and Aniarius, being baptized with his whole household and many of his neighbours, became the assistant of his teacher in preaching the truth.

Meanwhile the idolaters of Alexandria, perceiving that the Galilæan preacher was destroying their worship and ceremonies, sought to put him to death and laid many snares for him. But the blessed Mark, who knew their designs, ordained Aniarius bishop, and three priests, Melirius, Paberius, and Cerdon, with seven deacons, and eleven others with functions in the service of the church. After that he went into the Pentapolis, and dwelt there two years, comforting the brethren who were already believers, and ordaining bishops and clergy in those parts. Returning to Alexandria he found the brethren increased in faith and grace. Seeing also a church built by them at a place called for *pharum*, a pharos, or beacon. The French translator renders it *temple d'Alexandrie*, supposing *phanum* to be a corruption of *fanum*.

the Bucolia, that is, the cattle market, which is under the cliffs by the sea-shore, he was greatly delighted, and kneeling down glorified God, and kindly lent his aid to the good work by his exhortations and prayers.

In the fulness of time, when the Christians were multiplied, and the images of the idols overthrown, the heathen learned the return of the holy apostle, and were filled with rage at the miracles which they found him perform. For he healed the sick, preached to the unbelievers, and made the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak. But though they determined to arrest him, they were not able to find him; so that they gnashed their teeth in their idolatrous ceremonies, and exclaimed in their orgies: "Great is the power of this magician." At length on Easter Sunday, that is the eighth of the calends of May [24th April], at the time when the feast of Serapis was celebrated, their spies discovered the apostle consecrating the most holy offering to the Divine Majesty. These impious men immediately seized the servant of God, and putting a rope round his neck, dragged him cruelly over the stones, so that they were sprinkled with his blood, and the soil stained with his torn flesh. But while they were shouting with fury: "Let us drag this buffalo to the bull-ring," St. Mark offered praises to God, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ, I give thee thanks that thou hast thought me worthy thus to suffer for thy name."

Night approaching, the idolaters threw him into prison, while they consulted by what death he should be despatched. But at midnight, when the doors were close shut and the keepers were slumbering before the gates, behold there was a great earthquake, and an angel of the Lord descended from heaven and touching him, said: "Mark, the servant of God, the first and chief publisher of his holy laws throughout Egypt, lo, thy name is written in the book of life, and thy memorial shall be preserved through all ages. Thou art admitted into the fellowship of the hosts above; in the heavens they shall receive thy spirit, and thy rest shall know no end." On hearing this the blessed Mark, stretching out his hands to heaven said: "I give thee thanks, O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou hast not deserted me, but hast remembered me among thy saints.

Receive, I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, my soul in peace, and suffer me not to be longer separated from thee." When he had said this, the Lord Jesus came to him in the form, and clothed, as he had dwelt with his disciples before his passion, saying to him: "Peace be with thee, Mark, my evangelist." Mark replied: "Thanks be unto thee, O Lord." And in the morning the whole populace of the city assembled, and again putting the rope round his neck dragged him away, saying: "Take this buffalo to the bull-ring." And as he went along, he gave thanks to God, saying: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" and so saying, he gave up the ghost. An immense crowd of the heathen now lighted a fire in the place which is called, "Of the Angels;" resolving to burn the sacred remains. But, by God's providence, a violent tempest arose, with a strong wind, and the sun's face was hidden, and there was loud thunder. Heavy rain also fell from morning to night, so that many houses were washed away and numbers perished. The guards, in terror, abandoned the body of the saint and fled; and some said, mocking, that Serapis raised the storm on his feast-day in hatred of his enemy.

Devout men then came and took the body and buried it with honour in a tomb of hewn stone on the seventh of the calends of May [25th April]. Thus St. Mark the evangelist, the first bishop of Alexandria, suffered martyrdom for Christ, and his body was buried on the eastern side of the city. After a long course of years, when Alexandria was threatened with the incursions of the infidels, who overran all the east like locusts, and subdued the greatest part of the world both to the north and the south, the faithful Christians translated the apostle's remains to Aquileia where St. Mark first propagated the faith of Christ.¹ The bishop of Aquileia therefore has now succeeded to the patriarchate formerly held by the bishop of Alexandria, and holds the fourth primacy in the

¹ It is generally believed that St. Mark was sent by St. Peter to govern the church of Alexandria about A.D. 52, and that he there suffered martyrdom in the eighth year of Nero's reign, the 25th of April, 62. Our author is one of the oldest writers who has given credit to his pretended mission to Aquileia. As for the details, equally apocryphal, which are here given of his apostleship at Alexandria and his martyrdom, they are almost identically the same as those supplied by the Bollandists under the 1st of April.

world from reverence for St. Mark, to whom Peter, who bears the keys of heaven, committed Egypt, appointing him chief pastor in the southern regions for the salvation of many souls. The Venetians¹ and people of the west now glory in possessing the remains of the blessed evangelist, and continually pay them reverence to the praise of Almighty God, beseeching him that they may be reckoned in the number of the blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

CH. XVI. *St. Luke writes his gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles—Dies in Bithynia?—His remains translated to Constantinople.*

ST. LUKE the evangelist, a native of Syria, who practised the art of medicine at Antioch with great skill, became a disciple of the apostles of Christ, and following St. Paul even to his martyrdom, remained constant in unblemished celibacy, serving the Lord. By divine inspiration, he wrote his gospel in the parts of Achaia, setting forth to the believing Greeks our Lord's incarnation in a faithful narrative, and showing how he was descended from the stock of David. He afterwards published a special book for the purpose of clearly recording the acts of the Apostles, and the first beginning of the infant church. These two books Luke dedicated to Theophilus, that, is one who loves God, and published them for all who, under the inspiration of the holy Ghost, are inflamed by a double charity. In his first book he has described the true priesthood of Christ, in which the Lamb of God has expiated the sin of the world by shedding his own precious blood. In the second, he has unfolded the majesty of the ineffable Deity, to which the Son of God has ascended at the right hand of the Father in human flesh, and related the descent of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, on the apostles in tongues of fire, through which the primitive church shone with so glorious a light. In these two books of Luke the spiritual physician, is found the true medicine by which the deadly diseases of sin are expelled, and the remedy of justification unto life is provided for all who religiously

¹ Every one knows that the republic of Venice claimed to be under the especial protection of St. Mark, in virtue of possessing the relics of the holy evangelist, and many will recollect the richly decorated basilica of Byzantine architecture, and the stately piazza which bear the saint's cherished name. The lion of St. Mark was emblazoned on the standard of the republic.

seek it. The blessed Luke proclaimed the Lord by his writings as well as his discourses, and exhibited the light of truth to those who were in darkness. Among other miracles, he is said to have restored life to a dead man, in the name of the Lord. At length, he died in Bithynia at the age of eighty-three years, full of the Holy Ghost, on the fifteenth of the calends of November [18th October]. His bones, with those of St. Andrew the apostle, and Timothy, St. Paul's disciple, were translated to Constantinople on the seventh of the ides [9th] of May, in the twentieth year of the reign of the emperor Constantine.¹

CH. XVII. *St. Martial, apostle of the Gauls, first bishop of Limoges—Legend of his life and martyrdom.*

I HAVE now gladly enumerated all the apostles and evangelists who were contemporary with and companions of our Saviour, the same our Lord lending me his help; and have briefly and faithfully collected their sacred histories, as well as I could, digesting them from various works into one continued narrative.

It yet remains that I should give some account of the blessed Martial of Limoges, whose extraordinary virtues have raised him to the highest rank of saints after the apostles. Aurelian, whom he restored from death in the name of the Lord, has written the details of his life with order, truth, and diligence. From this narrative I propose to make some extracts, invoking the Holy Spirit to vouchsafe his aid to my undertaking.

While our Lord Jesus Christ was preaching in Judea, and great crowds of the Jews flocked around him, furnishing him with things necessary for his human wants, and learning the way of salvation by attentively listening to his instructions, one of the noblest of the Jews of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Marcellus, came to him, bringing with him his wife Elizabeth, and his only son Martial, who was then fifteen years of age. Beholding his marvellous works, and the saving doctrines he preached, they believed in Christ with contrite hearts, and at his command were baptized by the blessed apostle St. Peter. When all the others returned

¹ It is the commonly received opinion that St. Luke wrote his gospel while he was in Greece, about A.D. 53. He did not die in Bithynia as here stated, but in Achaia, probably at Patras, at a very advanced age. The translation of his relics to Constantinople took place the 3rd March, 357.

to their own homes, Martial devoted himself entirely to the Lord Jesus, and became one of his constant disciples. In so doing, he closely attached himself to the apostle Peter, to whom he was nearly related. He was a spectator of the raising of Lazarus after being four days in the grave, as well as of many other miracles. He ministered with Cleophas at the last supper, and other mystical rites, and was present with other disciples, at sundry appearances of our Lord after his resurrection, and at his glorious ascension. He partook of the blessings connected with the descent of the Holy Spirit, and was abundantly endowed with his supernatural gifts, so that he was well prepared by grace and faith for prosecuting vigorously the work of evangelizing.

When the apostles were dispersed, Martial went to Antioch with his kinsman St. Peter the apostle, and thence, seven years afterwards, to Rome. There Peter and his companions were hospitably entertained by Marcellus, the consul, living for some time in his palace, and preaching publicly to the Romans the saving precepts of eternal life. At that time the Lord Jesus appeared to St. Peter, and commanded him to send Martial to preach in the provinces of Gaul. The apostle then called Martial to him, and duly informed him of the divine command; upon hearing which he wept bitterly, from fear of such distant countries and barbarous tribes. But the blessed Peter gently consoled him, and, reminding him of the divine monitions, sent him on his errand of preaching the gospel. Without delay, therefore, Martial, with two priests, Alpinian and Austriclinian, set forward on the journey enjoined him. Austriclinian, however, dying on the road, Martial returned sorrowful to Rome, and informed Peter of the death of his companion. But at the apostle's command, he returned to his deceased brother, and, touching his body with the apostle's staff, he was immediately restored to life, by the merits and intercessions of the saints.

Martial then, prosecuting his journey with his disciples, arrived at the castle of Tulle,¹ where he was hospitably entertained by a wealthy man named Arnulf, with whom he

¹ M. Le Prévost considers that this is not Tulle in the Limousin, the Latin name of which was *Tutela*, but a place called Toulx on Cassini's map, on an elevated spot in La Marche, a few leagues N.E. of Guéret,

remained two months, diligently employed in publishing the word of God. Crowds of people flocked to him daily, hearing thankfully from his lips the words of salvation, and witnessing miracles before unknown. During this time the daughter of Arnulf, who was daily vexed by a devil, was delivered from the unclean spirit at the command of Martial, and became as one dead; but the man of God took her by the hand, and, raising her up, restored her to her father, perfectly healed. He was holy, benevolent, humble, and constant in prayer.

The governor of the castle of Tulle whose name was Nerva, and who was related to the emperor Nero, had a son who was strangled by the devil. Upon this, the father and mother of the deceased, with all the crowd who were present, threw themselves at the feet of Martial and placed the youth's corpse before him with loud cries and lamentations, exclaiming in their grief: "Man of God, help us." The holy pontiff had compassion on the sorrow of these people; indeed he himself and his disciples wept with them, and they joined in prayer to Almighty God for the restoration of life to the dead. The prayer being ended, and the holy prelate having commanded the dead man to arise whole in the name of the crucified Saviour, he forthwith arose, and, throwing himself at the feet of the holy man, began to cry out: "Baptize me, thou man of God, and sign me with the sign of the faith;" adding: "Two angels came to me with great swiftness, saying that I should be restored to life by the prayers of the blessed Martial. Hell has no bounds; there is nothing but weeping and bitterness, darkness, wailings and groanings, and deep sorrow; the heat and cold are intense and terrible, and never fail; there are the gnawings of serpents, and insupportable smells, corruption and misery, and the worm that never dies; there are infernal gaolers who torment the souls they seize with various sufferings." When he had made this and similar declarations, all the people began to confess the Lord, and three thousand six hundred souls of both sexes were baptized on the spot. Many gifts were offered to the blessed man, all which he where the foundations of a fortification and many Roman antiquities have been discovered.

commanded to be given to the poor. After this he went to the idol images, and broke and reduced to atoms all their sculptured statues.

The blessed prelate with his disciples came next to the village of Ahun,¹ and preached the true faith to the idolaters, who were deceived by the snares of the devil. Upon this the heathen priests assembled, and severely beat the holy preachers. But they, blessing the Lord and patiently bearing their ill-treatment for his sake, and faithfully supplicating his aid in this imminent peril, their persecutors were suddenly struck blind, and, holding each other by the hand, groped their way to the statue of Mercury. On their consulting the oracle as usual, it made no reply, the demon being bound by the angels of God. Having recourse to another idol they learned that their god could give them no answer, because he was chained by the angels of God in fetters of flame.

The priests who had been struck blind, came therefore to St. Martial, and throwing themselves at his feet implored his pardon; and the holy bishop restored their sight, and, presenting himself with all the people before the image of Jupiter, he adjured the demon in the Lord's name to come out, and break in pieces the statue in presence of the multitude; which command was immediately obeyed and the statue reduced to atoms. Two thousand six hundred souls were baptized there.

A man who was paralytic, hearing of this miracle, caused himself to be carried to the man of God. He was of high family, and rich in gold and silver, and great possessions. When now the man of God heard his entreaties and perceived his faith, he took him by the hand, and, praying for him, healed him. Thus restored to health, the paralytic glorified God, and offered rewards to the man of God, which he refused to accept, and ordered all to be distributed among the people.

While St. Martial dwelt there, the Lord appeared to him in a vision, saying: "Fear not to go down to Limoges, for I will glorify thee in that place, and will be ever with thee." Thereupon the blessed bishop, having encouraged those he had baptized, commended them to the Lord, and went to the

¹ Ahun, near Guéret.

city with his disciples. They were hospitably received in the house of a noble widow named Susanna, and on the morrow began to preach the Lord in public.

There was a man afflicted with frenzy and bound in fetters in the house where the man of God was entertained, whom no one dared to unloose. Susanna having supplicated the bishop to heal him as he had done others who were sick, he yielded to her entreaties, and, making the sign of the cross over the diseased man, his chains fell off, and he was made whole. The noble mother, and her daughter Valeria, upon witnessing this miracle, believed, and were baptized by the holy bishop, with six hundred of their household.

The priests of the idols, being incensed that the holy men preached in the theatre, severely scourged them, and threw them into prison; but St. Martial and his companions bore patiently the injuries they received, giving thanks to God. St. Martial was praying about the third hour of the day following, when suddenly a light like that of the bright sun shone in the dungeon, and the fetters of those who were confined fell to pieces, and the doors were opened; so that all who witnessed it entreated to be baptized. The city was shaken with an earthquake, there were lightnings and thunder, the heathen seeking in vain the protection of their idols, for the priests who had scourged the holy men of God were killed by a thunderbolt. The citizens, therefore, were struck with universal terror, and, rushing to the prison, threw themselves at the bishop's feet, entreating pardon and help. The bishop and his colleagues offering their prayers, Aurelian and Andrew¹ were restored to life, and, throwing themselves on their knees, sought forgiveness, confessing the true God, with all the people who saw with amazement such unheard-of prodigies. The day following St. Martial assembled the whole population, from the least to the eldest, and, having addressed to them a suitable exhortation, baptized them all. Thus twenty-two thousand believed in the Lord, and submitted with joy to his saving worship.

The holy bishop then hastened with all the people to the temple, in which stood the statues of Jupiter, Mercury, Diana, and Venus, and, destroying the images, converted the

¹ Probably two of the idol-priests so named.

temple into a church dedicated to the honour of St. Stephen, the first martyr.

The blessed Susanna died happily in the Lord, and was buried by St. Martial with great honour. She had conferred innumerable gifts and possessions on the holy bishop, and had granted to him the service of a number of her slaves. Moreover, her daughter Valeria devoted her virginity to the Lord, and, full of the Holy Ghost, showed herself a model of all good works. Hearing that Duke Stephen, to whom she was betrothed, was on his road to Limoges, and feeling sure that he would be grievously offended by her vow of chastity, she distributed to the poor all her wealth in gold, and silver, and vestments of various kinds, and precious stones. She had already joined her mother in making over to the holy bishop all their domains, with their slaves and serfs, that after his death his holy remains might be there interred.

Duke Stephen's principality extended from the river Rhone to the ocean, and he possessed all the country on this side the Loire, with Aquitaine, inhabited by the Gascons and Goths.¹ He was not called king, because no prince assumed that title except Nero, who possessed the Roman empire. On Stephen's reaching Limoges, he ordered Valeria, his affianced bride, to be conducted to him, and, finding from the conference that he was rejected by her, and that it was certain he would never prevail on her to become his wife, he became so enraged that he broke off the conversation, and ordered her to be immediately led out of the city and beheaded. Arrived at the place of execution she foretold the sudden death of the executioner, and, spreading out her hands in prayer, commended herself with confidence to the Lord her God. During her prayer a voice was heard from above, saying: "Fear not, Valeria, thou art expected in the celestial brightness which never ends." The virgin rejoiced at

¹ We might be surprised to find the Goths and Gascons settled in Aquitaine during the first century, if it were not known that the legend writers of the middle ages stuck at no anachronism. It was not till the beginning of the fifth century (A.D. 412) that the Goths took possession of the basin of the Garonne, and in the course of the sixth the province of Novempopularie changed its name for that of Gascony, derived from the Gascons of Spain. The only historical personage of this country of the name of Stephen was a count of Auvergne, killed by the Normans in 864.

hearing these words, and, lifting up her eyes to heaven, said: "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Having thus spoken, she voluntarily offered her neck to the executioner, who cut off her head with a single blow. Many persons saw her spirit depart from the body, bright as the sun, and rising to heaven in a globe of fire, with a choir of angels, singing: "Blessed art thou, Valeria, martyr of Christ, for thou hast kept the commandments of God. Henceforth thou shalt be for ever in his sight, in the brightness of the light that knows no end."

The squire of Duke Stephen, who had beheaded Valeria, hearing these words hastened to his master, and told him all he had seen and heard. Mentioning last the virgin's prediction of his own impending death, he was struck by an angel, and fell at the duke's feet, and presently expired. Fear and trembling seized the duke and all the people, and the duke, covering himself with sackcloth, requested the blessed Martial to come to him. On his arrival, the duke prostrated himself at his feet, and said, with many tears: "I have sinned, most holy man, in that I have shed the blood of the righteous; but I pray thee to restore this my squire to life, and cause me to believe in your God." Then the holy bishop convoked the whole Christian population, and exhorted them all to supplicate for the recovery of the dead man. Silence being then made, he himself prayed with a loud voice, and, his prayer ended, he approached the body of the dead, and taking his hand commanded him to rise in the name of the Lord. And he immediately arose, and, throwing himself at the bishop's feet entreated to be baptized. Duke Stephen, also, on seeing this miracle, knelt before the holy bishop, imploring his forgiveness for the sin he had committed. The blessed prelate, therefore, enjoined him a penance for putting to death the virgin and martyr, and baptized him with all his counts, and officers, and the whole army, and all the people of both sexes, to the number of fifteen thousand. The duke of whom we are speaking, gave to Martial, his master in Christ, large sums of gold and silver, that he might build churches to the honour of the Lord. He also granted him large domains, with many beneficiary estates, and vineyards, and serfs, in the province of Limoges, to enable him to embellish the churches he built,

and to supply the wants of the clergy, who were to serve God in them. He afterwards erected a hospital for the poor, to the charitable memory of Valeria, in which he directed three hundred poor persons to be fed daily. He also founded another, in which he made provision for refreshment being given daily to a crowd of the indigent, to the number of six hundred; and he also built a church over the tomb of St. Valeria, virgin and martyr.

Meanwhile Stephen, prince of the Gauls, was summoned to Italy by order of the emperor Nero, and there served in the army for six months with four legions of soldiers. During his military service Stephen did not forget the divine laws, but so ordered his troops that every one was satisfied with his own, and if any committed robbery he suffered death. After the term of his service was expired Stephen obtained his leave of absence, but he was unwilling to return to his own states until he had seen the blessed Peter the apostle. He hastened therefore, with all his troops, to Rome, and entering the city they found the apostle teaching great crowds of people in a place called the Vatican. Approaching the apostle with bare feet and sackcloth on their loins, they knelt before him and humbly besought his blessing. St. Peter, seeing the flower of the youth of Gaul, and learning that they had all been instructed in the gospel of Christ and baptized by the blessed Martial, was filled with joy and gave blessings to the Lord. He made many anxious inquiries of the pious duke concerning the manners and grace and way of life of the holy bishop, and the duke took pleasure in recounting many particulars of his goodness and miracles, and the conversion of the people who hastened from all parts to the font of holy baptism.

When the duke had received absolution from the apostle for having shed the blood of the innocent Valeria, he offered him the two hundred gold livres which he had just received as a donation from the emperor Nero, but the apostle directed him to take the gold to the holy bishop, that he might employ it in erecting churches or relieving the poor. Having therefore received the apostolic benediction, Stephen and his soldiers returned to Gaul, and at the duke's suggestion they visited their common father before they returned to their own homes. Arriving at a certain royal palace called

St. Junien, they pitched their tents and pavilions on the bank of the river Vienne.¹ The heat of the weather drove them to the river for refreshment both from the dust and from the sun's rays, when Hildebert, son of Arcadius count of Poitou, was drowned by the devil at a place called Garri, and died on the spot, nor could his body be found although the whole army searched for it. Arcadius and all the soldiers were overwhelmed with grief, and hastening with lamentations to Limoges, he humbly implored the aid of Martial on his son's behalf. Great crowds of Goths and Saxons, and people of other provinces, had now flocked to Limoges, desiring to hear the word of salvation from the holy man. Arcadius therefore and all the people threw themselves at Martial's feet, beseeching him with much lamentation on behalf of the young man drowned in the river. The holy man wept with them, and came to the place clothed in sackcloth, and with naked feet. All present joining in prayer, the man of God adjured the demons, who lurked in a hollow of the channel, that they should render themselves visible to the people and bring the corpse of the young man to the river-bank. Immediately the body was cast ashore at the distance of about six furlongs, the demons appearing in the shape of swine. At length, the people making deprecatory prayers and the bishop adjuring, they rushed violently from the river, and came and lay down at the feet of St. Martial. They were like the Ethiopians, black as soot, their feet enormous, their eyes terrible and bloody, their whole body was covered with bristly hair, and from their mouths and nostrils they breathed sulphureous flames. Their speech resembled the croakings of the raven; and when the bishop demanded their names one of them answered; "I am called thousand-craft, because I have a thousand arts of deceiving the human race." Another said; "I am called Neptune, because I have dragged numbers of men into this hole and plunged them into the torments of hell." The holy bishop inquired, "Why do you wear rings of fire on your snouts?" The demons replied: "When we have seduced the souls of men, it is by chains attached to these we drag them to our master." The bishop asking

¹ There is a commune still called du Palais on the banks of the Vienne, about one league from Limoges.

their master's name, they replied : " Strife, for he never ceases to stir up quarrels, and his rage and passion are without end." The demons then entreating the bishop that he would talk no more with them in Latin, and would not send them into the abyss or the boundless ocean, he commanded them, in the Hebrew tongue, to depart into a desert place, and to hurt no living creature to the day of judgment. The demons then flying through the air appeared no more. And now the duke with the whole crowd of people, and all the army collected from different provinces, and present at this extraordinary spectacle, threw themselves at the feet of the holy bishop pitifully imploring him to restore life to the young man who then lay dead. The bishop, moved at their distress, commanded all with one heart to make intercession to the Lord, and taking the hand of the deceased said, " In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Hildebert arise ;" and he immediately arose and lived piously twenty-six years afterwards. While all who witnessed so glorious a miracle were praising God, St. Martial called Hildebert and made inquiry of him, for the edification of the hearers, what he saw while he was dead. With some hesitation, he related as follows :—

" Bathed in sweat from the intense heat of the sun, I was washing myself in the river, when suddenly the demons plunged me into a deep hole and drowned me. But when they attempted to bind me in chains of fire, an angel of the Lord stood by me and delivered me out of their hands. We had begun to take the road to the east, when two bands of demons opposed our progress, throwing at us fiery darts. One of these bands attacked us in front, while the other assaulted us in the rear. For my part I was terribly frightened, but the angel my companion encouraged me ; beginning to sing with a melodious voice and sweet expression : ' Bless the Lord, O my soul ; and all that is within me, praise his holy name. Who forgiveth all thy iniquities and redeemeth thy life from the pit.' At length we reached the purgatorial fire, where Christians are punished for such of their daily transgressions as are not aggravated to mortal sins. Purgatory is a river of fire, with a bridge across, over which the angel of the Lord conducting me stood still, and taking my hand said : ' Here you will remain until, being cleansed from all your sins, you are fit to be a partaker of the

heavenly kingdom.' This being passed we arrived at the gate of Paradise, near which we found a crowd of demons assembled, whose rage and whose slanders I horribly feared. But at that moment a voice was heard from heaven, saying: 'Let the soul of the young man return to his body, and let him live twenty-six years.' The angel who conducted me was of incredible beauty, his whole aspect surpassing the human race. To my inquiries concerning our doctor, St. Martial, he replied: 'His merit in heaven is great because he has continued in celibacy, and is and means to be free from the love of women. From his youth he began to serve the Lord and attach himself to the blessed Peter, never returning to his father's house. As he is known to be free from the concupiscence of the flesh, so he will be delivered from the pains of death. Twelve angels are commissioned by the Lord to attend him constantly, who do not suffer him to be weary, nor to hunger or thirst, but preserve him from all evil and shield him from every touch of sorrow.'"

While Hildebert was relating these things and others similar to them, the hearts of the bishop and the duke and all the assembled people were gladdened, and they offered thanksgivings to the Lord for all the benefits conferred upon them. Hildebert, observing the angel's admonitions, shaved his head, and attaching himself to the blessed prelate devoted himself to the service of the Lord, neither drinking wine nor eating flesh. He went bare-foot, and was satisfied with bread and water for food, and sackcloth for raiment. He gave himself up to constant prayers, and frequent fastings, and the continual performance of good works. All that he inherited from his parents he distributed to the poor; and reserved nothing for himself on the morrow. Multitudes followed his example, and renouncing their own wills hastened to Christ by the narrow way.

Duke Stephen published an ordinance directing that through all the nations which were subject to his dominion, the temples and idols should be broken down and burnt with fire, and that they should worship the one only God, whom they should strive to obey. He himself, as he had learnt from his master, observed a life of religion towards God. He was liberal in alms, just in his judgments, careful for the poor, docile, and devoted to the priests and all

the ministers of God; he was the wise father of the Christians, but a fierce persecutor of the pagans. From the day of his baptism he was never defiled by connection with any woman, but lived in chastity to the day of his death.

There was in the city of Bordeaux a count named Sigebert, who for six years was grievously afflicted with paralysis. Hearing the miracles which were wrought by the blessed Martial, he directed his wife Benedicta to go with all haste to the man of God, and, taking with her twenty-six livres in gold and a sufficient sum in silver, implore the favour of God through the intercession of his friend. She used the utmost despatch in preparing what was commanded, and hastened to the man of God with an escort of two thousand eight hundred horsemen. On her arrival she earnestly petitioned the man of God for her husband's health, which he, rejoicing in her faith, promised to restore. He therefore delivered his staff to the matron, commanding her to lay it on her husband and he would be healed. He refused to accept the gold and silver, but according to the Lord's commandment conferred the spiritual benefits gratuitously. He baptized the noble Benedicta and all the companions of her journey, and dismissed them to their homes confirmed in the faith.

Meanwhile, when the populace of Bordeaux flocked to the idol temples and the priests burnt incense, the demon said that he would come out at the command of a certain Hebrew named Martial, and published with sorrow the great virtues of the holy bishop and his honour with God. As the matron was entering the city on her return, the elders of the people proceeded to meet her, and told her all that they had heard from Jupiter. Then the countess sent for the chief pontiff of the idols, and commanded him that he should go to all the temples, except those of the unknown God, and utterly destroy them. She then with her Christian companions implored God's mercy, and coming in his name to her husband's bed, placed on him the blessed apostle's staff. Immediately his limbs, which had been injured by the contraction of the nerves, and dried up by fever, became instantly as though they had never lost their power. After the just-named Count Sigebert was healed he went with a great retinue to the holy bishop and was

regenerated by him, with all his followers, in the water of holy baptism. He returned abundant offerings of prayers and thanks for the heavenly benefits conferred upon him, and lived many years afterwards happily in the service of the Lord.

It happened on a certain occasion, that when the city of Bordeaux was, for the presumption of the inhabitants, in danger of being consumed by fire, the flames threatening its entire destruction, the pious Benedicta, in full faith, opposed the staff of the man of God to the progress of the fire, invoking the aid of the Creator, whose omnipotence she confessed. And the conflagration was immediately extinguished, so that no traces of fire remained.

At that time Martial, the bishop of Christ, moved by divine inspiration, went to the bank of the river Garonne, and preached the gospel to multitudes who flocked to him at a place called Mortagne; remaining there three months in the saving work of his divine mission. Nine demoniacs brought by their parents in chains from the city of Bordeaux were healed by St. Martin, the demons being expelled. The demons also, who by virtue of Christian faith were expelled from the city of Bordeaux, incensed with those whom they had subjugated, took possession of some miserable idolaters, and entering their bodies grievously vexed them. Their parents therefore brought them to the man of God, at whose prayers and commands their malignant enemies issued forth from their mouths with torrents of blood, and were no more seen.

On one occasion when the blessed St. Martial preached in Mortagne, and crowds of people flocked to hear the true doctrine, Count Sigebert resolved to join him with a considerable body of soldiers, and to show his friendship by supplying him with all that was necessary for meat and drink. Among other things he desired a quantity of fish, and despatched his servants to the sea for the purpose of fishing. When at last the fishermen, bringing with them many kinds of fish, were looking forward with anxiety to reach the shore, a sudden storm arose and threatened them with shipwreck and destruction. The countess Benedicta, who with a crowd of people was on the shore waiting, saw the danger in great alarm. And now men began to

sink with the boats, when the devout woman, extending her hands towards heaven, called upon God with a loud voice, and the storm immediately ceased. The fishermen, with their boats, and fish, and nets, came safe to the harbour, and all who saw it glorified God.

On his return from Mortagne the amiable prelate again visited Limoges, and thence went to a village called Ansac. It boasted an idol of Jupiter held in great veneration by the heathen, which drew together numbers of sick folk labouring under various infirmities. On the bishop's arrival the demon was dumb, but at the request of the inhabitants the man of God commanded him to come out of the image, and breaking the statue show himself to the people in a visible form. There forthwith issued from the statue what had the appearance of a negro boy, black as soot, covered with dark and rough hair from head to foot, and fire flashing from his mouth, nostrils, and eyes, with a sulphureous smell. Thus the saint showed the people what sort of god they had worshipped, and repeated his order to the demon that he should destroy the image; which he accordingly reduced to powder, and never again appeared. Then the venerable bishop assembled round him all the sick, and making the sign of the cross over them healed them in the name of the Lord, baptizing all those who appeared to dwell in that place. Returning afterwards to his own see, he caused oratories to be built, and decorated them carefully with rich ornaments. One he dedicated to the honour of St. Stephen the first martyr, his own kinsman, and another to St. Peter the apostle, his own master.¹ The altar was overlaid all round with plates of gold. When the churches were built, the blessed bishop fixed a day for the consecration, and Duke Stephen caused preparations to be made for entertaining all who came to the holy solemnity. When however the holy bishop was celebrating the mass, Hervé, count of Tours, was carried off by the devil, as well as his Christian wife. But the holy man did not suffer them to be long tormented, but calling them to him, he rebuked the

¹ The cathedral of Limoges is still under the invocation of St. Stephen. The church here called St. Peter's, has been known by the name of St. Martial since the time that the relics of that apostle of the Limousin were deposited in it.

devils for taking possession of them. But they replied, that it was permitted them on account of the transgression of the count and his wife, who, contrary to the bishop's precept, had polluted themselves with carnal knowledge the whole night. Upon the count and the people entreating favour for the possessed, the holy bishop restored them to sound health and vigour, expelling the demon in the name of the Lord. The church of St. Peter was consecrated on the sixth of the nones [2nd] of May, in the reign of the emperor Nero, when so dazzling was the light shed in it on the day of dedication, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish one person from another.

These ceremonies being duly performed, the blessed Martial ordained Aurelian to succeed him in the see of Limoges after his own decease. He also caused Andrew the priest to preside over the church of St. Peter the apostle, settling in it Hildebert, son of Count Archadius, and thirty-six clerks besides, for whom Duke Stephen provided out of his own domains an abundant revenue, to supply food and clothing.

Much has been written on the life of the blessed Martial, which cannot be fully recounted in detail. To sum up his character shortly, he was deeply imbued with divine wisdom, illustrious for his piety, exemplary in his morals, and regarded with awe for the miracles he wrought. Holding the world cheap, and loving God and his neighbour, for him "to live was Christ, to die was gain." He restored, as we have often noticed, sight to the blind, and caused the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the dead to return to life. There are many other particulars worthy to be recorded, as Aurelian remarks, of works done by St. Martial by the grace of Christ, which would be considered as apocryphal by unbelievers, if they were committed to writing.

In the year 40, after our Lord's resurrection, when the blessed Martial was praying, as he was wont, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him in glory with his disciples, and having graciously saluted him by name, predicted that the fifteenth day from thence would be the period of his departure out of this world. The holy man, full of joy, gave thanks to God, and during two weeks, prepared for his end

with fasting, and watching, and prayer. After a short cessation, to rest his wearied limbs, he rose in the night for prayer at the hour appointed, and continued his prayers and divine lauds to the second hour of day. Then he offered the holy sacrifice to the Lord, for himself and the whole church, at the second hour, and afterwards preached diligently until the evening. Towards the close of day, as night approached, he took the nourishment to which he rigorously confined himself, viz. bread and water.

The period of his vocation being near, the holy man convoked his brethren and announced to them, that the day of his departure was at hand; making known the same also by messengers he despatched through all the provinces and districts which he had gained for the Lord. Great numbers assembled in deep sorrow, viz., the people of Poitou, Berry, Auvergne, Gascony, and Gothia. The day of his death drawing near, at the request of all he went out of the gate of the city called the Lime-gate, and there delivered a discourse on the true faith and the divine operations, and profitably recounted the blessed virtues which adorn the Christian life. At the end of his discourse he gave the benediction to the people, commending them to God in devout prayer, and then causing himself to be carried into the oratory of St. Stephen, and lying there in sackcloth and ashes waited his end, while, with bended knees and hands outstretched to heaven, he caused prayers to be offered to aid him in his last struggle. At the close he thus addressed the Lord: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;" and whilst those who stood around were weeping and praying, he made a sign with his hand for silence, and said to them: "Be still, hear ye not the songs of praise proceeding from heaven? surely the Lord cometh, as he promised;" and immediately a great light shone around, and the voice of the Lord was heard calling him, and saying: "Blessed spirit, depart," and instantly he rose to heaven, surrounded by the glorious light, while a concert of angels was heard. On the morrow, at the third hour, a paralytic who touched his bier immediately became sound. When his body was carried forth for burial, at the moment of the departure towards the church of St. Stephen, the heavens were opened and continued open while the bearers of the holy remains

carried them to the place of interment. Moreover, as a multitude of infirm persons was collected at the funeral, the blessed Alpinian taking the sudarium of the holy bishop applied it to the bodies of the sick, and invoking the name of Christ all were healed. Among the rest a dropsical man was brought from Toulouse, with six blind persons and four demoniacs, who, on the day following the obit of the holy bishop, were presented before his tomb, and healed by the touch of the sacred napkin.

Innumerable other miracles were wrought by the most holy prelate after his interment, the great number of which forbids their being reduced to writing in detail. Probably larger volumes, if they were written, would not content those who are dissatisfied with the present account.¹

May the holy bishop Martial, the cotemporary of Christ and the companion of the apostles, who was the pious pastor of Limoges, and the first who preached to the people of the west, intercede for us who speak of him, that, protected by his prayers, we may be found worthy to be partakers of the eternal inheritance. Amen.

CH. XVIII. *Epitome of the series of bishops of Rome, from St. Peter to Pope Innocent II. A.D. 1143.*

HAVING determined to compose a history from the works of former writers, I commenced with ecclesiastical history, in the beginning of which I collected some short accounts of the holy apostles. Now, by God's help I shall endeavour to give a regular series of the Roman bishops, beginning with St. Peter the apostle, to whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven; an undertaking I consider necessary, and useful to studious persons and others who desire instruction. My careful researches extend through eleven centuries, from the time that the Almighty Emanuel came to us, veiled in the flesh which he borrowed from the im-

¹ These supposed acts of St. Martial appear to have been substituted for the original, which was then lost, a few years before 994, the date of the second translation of his relics. Till that time it was believed, according to Gregory of Tours, that the period of his mission could not be carried higher than the reign of Trajan. A council at Limoges in 1029, another at Bourges in 1031, and, finally, a bull of the holy see, sanctioned the assertions of the fictitious account.

maculate virgin. The city of Rome, which from its very foundation carried its fasces in triumph over all its neighbours, and which, by God's providence, extended its frontiers to the Euphrates and the Ocean, saw also many illustrious champions, who, by God's aid, held the reins of ecclesiastical discipline. It is delightful to trace their triumphant course over the waves of this world, that those who walk in the steps of the Christian heroes may strive to imitate their noble acts which lead to salvation.

The blessed SIMON PETER, the prince of the apostles, son of John, and born at Bethsaida, in the province of Galilee, first filled the see of Antioch during seven years. He then went to Rome in the reign of Claudius, to oppose Simon Magus, and there preaching governed the church twenty-five years. He often disputed before Nero and the people against Simon, whom he defeated; and his martyrdom by Nero at the same time as that of St. Paul, took place in the year 36 from the passion of our Lord, on the third of the calends of July [29th June].¹

LINUS, son of Herculanius, and born in Tuscany, occupied the see of Rome eleven years, three months, and twelve days, suffering martyrdom on the sixth of the calends of December [25th November]. Following the precept of the apostle Peter, he decreed that no woman should enter a church without having her head covered.²

CLETUS, born at Rome, sat twelve years, one month, eleven days, and suffered under Domitian on the sixth of the calends of May [26th April]. The see remained void twenty days. Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, says in the preface of his history of Clemens, that Linus and Cletus performed the functions of bishops during the life of Peter the apostle, and afterwards succeeded him. I am much surprised that so sensible a critic and historian, and one so well read, both in Greek and Latin authors, should not have recollected, that both these bishops finished their blessed

¹ See former notes on the date of St. Peter's ministry at Antioch and Rome, and his martyrdom, pp. 194 and 195.

² Our author has followed the martyrology of Ado in placing the death of Linus on the 25th of December. It is generally placed on the 23rd of September. It is very doubtful whether this pope and his successor suffered martyrdom.

course by martyrdom, and that no one suffered persecution at Rome for the cause of Christ until the thirteenth year of Nero, after the fall of Simon Magus. Linus suffered in the time of Vespasian, and Cletus in the persecution under Domitian.¹

CLEMENS, born at Rome on the Celian Mount, whose father was Faustinus, filled the see ten years, two months, ten days, and was thrown into the sea under the emperor Trajan on the ninth of the calends of December [23rd November]. The see was vacant twenty-one days. Following the discipline of the blessed Peter the apostle, he was so eminent for the ornaments of a good conversation, that he was esteemed by the Jews and Gentiles, as well as by the Christians, whose poor he caused to be all registered, not suffering those who had been purified by holy baptism to become public mendicants. He gave the consecrated veil to Flavia Domitia, a virgin who was niece of Domitian and espoused to Aurelius,² and confirmed Theodora the wife of count Sisinnius in her resolution of chastity. Her husband, having been led by his passions to follow her as she secretly entered the church, was immediately by St. Clemens' prayers struck blind and deaf. His servants seeking to remove him could not find the door, although they searched for it all round for some time, until Theodora obtained by her prayers on her husband's behalf, that he and his attendants might depart. Conducted home, his blindness still continued, and when mass was ended Theodora stated all the circumstances to Pope Clemens, who exhorted the people to offer their prayers. He himself, with the woman, visited the diseased man, and by his supplications caused his sight and hearing to be immediately restored. But though he recovered his bodily senses, he lost his reason, and ordered Clemens, whom he accused of following his wife, to be siezed and brought to him. His servants also

¹ This pope is also called Anaclete. The history of these first two successors of St. Peter is very obscure. There appears to be no foundation for the opinion of Rufinus, but the fact which our author opposes to it, is, as already observed, doubtful. [23rd September? 78—91.]

² If we believe, with the church, the existence of this saint, she must have been the niece, not of Domitian, but of Flavius Clemens, his cousin-german, who was consul in 82. Unfortunately we have no other guarantee for this story but the very suspicious Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilles.

attached ropes to stone pillars, and dragged them within and without the house. Sisinnius and his servants being thus mad, Clemens departed, and Theodora spent the whole day in weeping and praying for her husband. At length in the evening Peter the apostle appeared to her and comforted her, saying: "Sisinnius shall be saved by thee, in order that the word spoken by my brother Paul the apostle be fulfilled: 'the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife.'"¹ Sisinnius, recovering his reason, caused Theodora to invite Clemens to come to him, and confessing his former folly, declared his belief in Almighty God, and being confirmed in the faith was baptized the following Easter, with three hundred and twenty-three persons of both sexes.² Many noble and illustrious persons believed through him, and professing the true faith received baptism.

Publius Torqueanus, count of the sacred offices, becoming jealous of the increase of the Christians, gave money to his officers in various provinces, to stir up opposition to the name of Christ. A tumult of the people took place at Rome, while Mamertine was prefect, and by command of Publius Torqueanus, Clemens was privately brought before him; but the bishop, by his sensible replies, endeavoured to bring him over to the true faith. The tumult still raging, a report concerning Clemens was forwarded to Nerva, and also to Trajan. The rescript of Trajan ordered that if Clemens refused to sacrifice to the idols, he should be banished to the city of Chersona, beyond the Euxine Sea. But the Lord gave such grace to the blessed Clemens that even the heathen judges grieved for him. Julian, the president, sorrowfully commended him by prayer to God, and supplied him with a ship, freighted with all that his comfort required, and he was accompanied in his exile by many devout persons, both of the clergy and laity. The holy pope found at his place of banishment more than two thousand Christians, condemned to hew blocks of marble; and rejoiced that they were suffering for the name of Christ, instructing them fully in the doctrine of patience and keeping the faith. Hearing that they had to fetch water on their shoulders six miles, he

¹ 1 Cor, vii. 14.

² The whole of this legend of St. Theodora is apocryphal, as it is easy to discover.

prayed the Lord to give them water. When his prayer was ended, he saw a lamb standing on a hill, and gently struck with a short rod the spot which the lamb had pointed out, by lifting its foot; whereupon a fountain burst forth supplied by copious springs, and speedily forming a river. This being known, the whole province flocked together, and great numbers listened to the teaching of St. Clemens, so that in one day five hundred souls, or more, were baptized; and in less than a year seventy-five churches were erected, the idols being demolished by the believers.

After three years, a malicious accusation was forwarded to Trajan at the instance of the pagans; and he sent the tribune, Aufidius, who put to death many Christians by various kinds of suffering. After this general massacre he ordered Clemens to be embarked alone on the sea, and thrown into the waves with an anchor attached to his neck. While this was doing, Phæbus and Cornelius, with a crowd of Christians, stood on the shore praying, with floods of tears, when the sea receded for almost three miles from the shore, and people walking on the dry land saw a strange spectacle. For they found a small building, having the appearance of a marble chapel, built by angelic hands, and the body of St. Clemens deposited therein in a stone coffin by the ministry of angels, with the anchor by which the body had been sunk laid near. It was revealed to the disciples that they should not remove the body, as, on the recurrence of the anniversary of St. Clemens' martyrdom, the sea would again recede, and for seven days permit approach to the tomb. Many miracles were wrought there, and all the heathen in the neighbourhood believed in Christ, and became servants of Him who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.¹

By a constitution of Clemens's, the altar-cloth, the chair, and the candelabrum, were to be burnt when they became worn out.

ANACLETUS,² a Greek, of Athens, filled the see nine years two months, ten days; and on his death the third of the ides [13th] July, it was vacant sixteen days. By a decree of

¹ The details respecting St. Clemens contained in this and the preceding paragraph, are altogether apocryphal.

² See the note in p. 314, which describes Pope Anaclete as the same as Cletus.

his no accusation was to be received against a priest, except it were preferred by men of character and probity, above suspicion.

EVARISTUS, a Jew, of Bethlehem, whose father's name was Juda, filled the see nine years, ten months, two days, in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan.¹ After his martyrdom the see was vacant eighteen days. Evaristus appointed seven deacons to attend the bishop during his preaching, to be witnesses of his doctrine,² and to supply the place of eyes in his superintendence of all parts of his diocese. He also decreed that a man should not divorce his wife, or the wife leave her husband; and that no church should have a new bishop while the former was alive.

ALEXANDER was born at Rome, in the quarter of the Bull's Head, his father's name being also Alexander. He filled the see ten years, seven months, eleven days. He introduced the custom of blessing houses, by sprinkling holy water in which salt was mixed; as well as the reference to our Lord's passion, in the prayer used by the priest in celebrating mass. The Lord wrought many miracles, and brought salvation to many souls by his instrumentality. At length he was beheaded on the Nomentan way, on the fifth of the nones [3rd] May, and the see was vacant thirty-five days.

SIXTUS, born at Rome in the Latin Street [*viâ Latinâ*] whose father's name was Pastor, sat ten years, two months, one day. He decreed that none but persons in orders should presume to touch holy things. He also introduced into the [canon of the] mass, the hymn of angels and men, to be sung by the priests in the presence of the people: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory: hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: hosanna in the highest." Sixtus ordained that the character, truthfulness, life, and

¹ Our author commits a great anachronism in placing a part of the pontificate of St. Evaristus (who died A.D. 109) under the reigns of Domitian and Nerva, the last of whom died in the month of January, 98.

² This passage is very obscure. The text runs, *qui custodirent episcopum prædicantem per stilum veritatis*, "by the pen of truth." The ecclesiastical historians paraphrase it, somewhat as is here done, with the gloss, "lest the bishop's detractors should attribute to him errors in his preaching, which he had not committed;" a curious instance of the use of what we call shorthand-writers in very early times.

conversation of any one who brought forward charges against the clergy, should be narrowly scrutinized, and that no attention should be paid to such as were ignorant of the true faith, whose lives were irregular, or who came from the houses of Christ's enemies. At length he suffered martyrdom on the nones [5th] of April, and at his death the bishopric was vacant fourteen days.

TELESPHORUS, a Greek, held the see eleven years, three months, twenty-one days, in the time of Antonine and Marcus Aurelius. This pope ordained that the fast before Easter should last seven weeks, and the midnight mass at the feast of the Nativity, and introduced the hymn of the angels, that is the "Gloria in excelsis," as the commencement of the holy office. He was at length martyred on the nones [5th] of January. The see was then vacant for seven days.¹

HYGINUS, an Athenian, who had been a philosopher, held the bishopric four years, three months, four days, in the time of Verus and Marcus. He forbade metropolitans to hear causes in the absence of all the bishops of their provinces; and bishops without the assistance of their clergy; otherwise the decisions of both should be void. This pope was interred on the third of the ides [11th] of January, and the see was void three days.²

PIUS, an Italian, born at Aquileia, filled the see nineteen years, four months, three days, in the time of Antoninus Pius. From the teaching of an angel in guise of a shepherd,³

¹ A.D. 127—139. Our author here commits two mistakes. He makes the popedom of St. Telesphorus continue to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, though it did not exceed the first year of Antoninus Pius; and he attributes to him the addition of a seventh week to the Lent fast, while there were only six as late as the time of Gregory the Great. The other innovations attributed to him may not be better founded.

² A.D. 139—142. Our author again makes a grave mistake in placing this popedom under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and still more of Verus, who was not associated in the empire till 161, though Marcus Aurelius was created Cæsar in 139. The apostolical constitutions attributed to Hyginus are generally supposed to have been a compilation of much later date.

³ A.D. 142—157. This obscure paragraph is an imperfect extract from Bede. It has been already remarked, p. 90, that the book called *The Pastor*, directly mentioned by Bede in this place, was written by Hermas, the disciple of the apostles, and not by the pretended St. Hermes, said to have been brother of Pope Pius I. It, however, contains nothing relative to the time of keeping Easter.

he decreed that the feast of Easter should be observed on a Sunday. He died on the fifth of the ides [11th] of July, and the bishopric was vacant fourteen days.

ANICETUS, a Syrian, sat eleven years, four months, three days, in the time of Severus and Marcus. He decreed that the clergy should cut their hair; that no less than three bishops should be present at the ordination of a bishop; and that a metropolitan should be consecrated by his suffragans. He suffered martyrdom on the twelfth of the calends of May [20th April]. The bishopric was vacant seventeen days.¹

SOTER, who was born at Fondi, a town in Campania, and whose father's name was Concordius, filled the see of Rome nine years, seven months, twenty-one days, in the time of Severus. He died on the fifteenth of the calends of May [17th April], and the bishopric was vacant twenty-one days.²

ELEUTHERIUS, a Greek, whose father's name was Abundius, filled the see fifteen years, three months, in the times of Antonine and Caracalla. This pope decreed that no one should be condemned in his absence, or the accusation of an informer be heard against him: also, that no food should be rejected by Christians, which was fit in reason for human use. He died on the seventh of the calends of June [26th May], and the episcopal see was in abeyance five days.³

VICTOR, an African, filled the see ten years, eleven months, ten days: he received the crown of martyrdom on the calends of August; and the bishopric was void twelve days. He decreed that no one should be placed on his defence upon loose charges.⁴

ZEPHYRINUS, born at Rome, sat eight years, seven months, and ten days, in the time of Antoninus and Severus. He was interred on the Appian Way on the seventh of the calends of September [26th August], and the see was vacant seven days. A constitution of his ordained that a clerk unjustly expelled should be provisionally restored to his benefice, and then should make answer to those who ac-

¹ A.D. 157—168.

² A.D. 168—177. This pope could not have been contemporary with Septimus Severus, whose reign did not begin till 193.

³ A.D. 177—193.

⁴ A.D. 193—202.

cused him, according to law, being allowed sufficient time, if he required it.¹

CALIXTUS, a Roman, from the province of Ravenna, filled the see seven years, two months, and ten days, under Macrinus and Heliogabalus. According to a decision of his, the bishops were not to judge or excommunicate those who belonged to another diocese; no one being subject to trial or sentence by any other bishop than his own. He determined that a man who had lapsed into sin should be restored to his former office, after undergoing fitting penance, and if he held no office before was capable of receiving an appointment. He ordered the Saturday's fast to be observed three times a year, of corn, wine, and oil, according to the prophecy the fourth, the seventh, and the tenth. At last he was martyred on the third of the ides [14th] of October, under the emperor Alexander, and the see was void six days. At that time Calepodius the priest, with Astirius and Palmatius, consular men, and two hundred of their families, suffered martyrdom.²

URBAN, a Roman, sat four years, ten months, and twelve days. He decreed that all the faithful should receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the bishop's hands, after baptism, for their confirmation in the Christian faith. In his time Tiburcius, Valerian, Maximus, and Cecilia, suffered martyrdom, and he himself on the eighth of the ides of June [6th May].³

PONTIAN, a Roman, filled the see nine years, five months, and two days, in the reign of the emperor Alexander, by whom he was banished to Sardinia with the priest Hyppolitus. He died on the third of the calends of November [30th October], and the bishopric was vacant ten days.⁴

¹ A.D. 202—218.

² A.D. 219—222. No such person as Palmatius is known to have existed. If we believe the martyrologies, there was no reign in which so much Christian blood was shed as that of Alexander Severus, while, on the contrary, it is certain that the church then enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

³ A.D. 223—230. It would appear that this pope has been placed on the list of martyrs by mistake for another St. Urban, a bishop. As for the other saints named in this paragraph, St. Cecilia is the only one whose worship is too old and too authentic to leave any doubt as to her existence; but her acts are apocryphal, and there is good reason to believe that she suffered martyrdom in Sicily in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

⁴ A.D. 230—235. It was not by Alexander Severus, but by the cruel

ANTHEROS, a Greek, sat twelve years, one month, twelve days. He suffered martyrdom on the third of the nones [3rd] of January, and the see was void thirteen days.¹

FABIAN, a Roman, sat fourteen years, eleven months. Among other judgments of his, the following is recorded: "No account is to be taken of an accusation made by a man in a passion. Let him who brings forward a charge prove it, and if he fails let him suffer the punishment he would have had inflicted on another." This pope suffered martyrdom on the fourteenth of the calends of February [19th January], and the bishopric was in abeyance seven days.²

CORNELIUS, a Roman, sat two years, two months, and three days.³ This pope disinterred the apostles' remains by night, at the request of St. Lucina. He deposited the body of St. Paul on the road to Ostia, and that of St. Peter in the temple of Apollo on the golden mount at the Vatican.⁴ Cornelius was exiled to Centum Cellæ in the reign of Decius, but was afterwards brought back to Rome, where he made many conversions, and was beheaded on the eighteenth of the calends of October [14 September], when the bishopric became vacant for thirty-five days. This pope determined that priests should take oaths only by pledging their faith.⁵

LUCIUS, a Roman, filled the see three years, three months, three days, in the time of Gallus and Volusianus. By God's will he returned from banishment and was beheaded

Maximin, his successor, and consequently after the month of March, 235, that St. Pontian was banished to Sardinia.

¹ November 23, 235—January 3, 236.

² A.D. 236—250.

³ June 4, 251—September 14, 252.

⁴ Some remarks have been already made (p. 96) on the translation of the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, attributed to St. Cornelius. It is certain that they were deposited, the one at the Vatican, the other *ad aquas Salvias*, long before his time. To complete the details already given respecting these relics, it should be added that the report is that they were collected and weighed by Pope St. Silvester in 319, and then distributed in equal portions between the two churches where they now rest, so that each should possess one half of the body of each apostle. See *Roma Subterranea*, l. iii. c. 3, p. 246.

⁵ It was not under the reign of Decius, but in the reign of Gallus, that St. Cornelius was banished to *Centum Cellæ*, now called Civita-Vecchia. He is supposed to have died there, but his claim to be ranked as a martyr is doubtful.

by Valerian the third of the nones [5th] of March; the see was void thirty-five days. He ordained that two priests and three deacons should on all occasions be present with the bishop for ecclesiastical testimony.¹

STEPHEN, a Roman, sat seven years, five months, and two days, in the time of Valerian and Gallienus [and Maximus]. He restored sight to Lucilla who was blind from her infancy, and baptized her father Nemesius the tribune, with seventy-two others of both sexes. After the martyrdom of Sempronius, Olympius, Exuperia, and Theodotus, with twelve priests, among whom were Bonus, Faustus, Maurus, Primitius, Calumniosus, John, Exuperantius, Quirillus and Honoratus, who suffered martyrdom before him on the calends [1st] of August, he himself, having said mass, was beheaded on the fourth of the nones [2nd] of August, and the bishopric was void twenty-seven days. He ordained that infamous persons should not be allowed to accuse priests, and that priests and the rest of the clergy should not have their sacred vestments in daily use, but in the church only.²

SIXTUS, a Greek, formerly a philosopher, sat one year, ten months, twenty-three days, in the time of Gallienus and Decius. He made a law that whoever should despise his own judge and resort to another should be excommunicated. At length he was beheaded on the eighth of the ides [6th] of August with six deacons—Felicissimus, Agapitus, Januarius, Magnus, Vincent, and Stephen. The see was void thirty-five days. At that time Laurence, the archdeacon, and Hippolitus with his family, and Abelon and Sennes, petty kings of Persia, and many others, suffered martyrdom in various ways.³

DIONYSIUS, who had been a monk, filled the see six years, two months, and four days. This pope granted churches to

¹ September 25, 252—March 4, 253. It is unjust to attribute the death of St. Lucius to Valerian, who did not ascend the throne till the following year, and only began to persecute the Christians in 256.

² A.D. 253—257. It is probable that the Maximus here named was Galerius Maximus, pro-consul of Africa, who caused Cyprian to be beheaded in 258. All the persons and facts mentioned in this paragraph appear to be apocryphal, not excepting the martyrdom of St. Stephen himself.

³ August 24, 257—August 6, 258. Our author has confused this pope with a Pythagorean philosopher of the same name. He was contemporaneous with Valerian and Gallienus, not Gallienus and Decius.

the priests, and founded cemeteries, parishes, and dioceses. He suffered martyrdom on the sixth of the calends of January [27th December], and the bishopric was in abeyance five days. He decreed that "A forced confession is not to be accepted, for it ought not to be extorted, but made voluntarily."¹

FELIX, a Roman, sat four years, three months, twenty-five days, in the time of Claudius and Aurelian. He was crowned with martyrdom on the third of the calends of June [30th May], and the see was void five days. He decreed that a bishop could not be deprived of his bishopric before his cause was heard.²

EUTYCHIAN, a Tuscan of the town of Luna, filled the see one year, one month, one day, in the time of Aurelian. He died on the sixth of the calends of August [27th July], and the bishopric was vacant eight days.³

CAIUS, a Dalmatian, sat eleven years, four months, twelve days, in the time of Carinus, Diocletian, and Constantius. This pope divided the clerks in orders into seven ranks; viz., porters, readers, exorcists, subdeacons, deacons, and priests. He suffered martyrdom on the tenth of the calends of May [22nd April], and the see was vacant eleven days.⁴

MARCELLINUS, a Roman, held the see nine years, four months, sixteen days, in the time of Diocletian and Maximian. By a decree of his, superiors were not subject to the judgments of inferiors, and no laic was suffered to accuse a clergyman. None of the clergy of whatever rank were allowed to sue any one in the secular courts, without the bishop's leave. This pope suffered martyrdom on the seventh of the calends of May [25th April]. Eighteen thousand persons were slain with him for the faith of Christ in thirty days; so grievous was the persecution of the

¹ A.D. July 22, 259—December 26, 269. All that our author relates of this pope is without foundation, including his martyrdom.

² A.D. 269—274. The martyrdom of this pope, without being quite certain, is more probable than that of his predecessor.

³ A.D. 275—283. Our author has greatly mistaken the duration of the popedom of St. Eutychian, who was not only contemporary with Aurelian, but with Tacitus, Probus, and Carus.

⁴ A.D. 283—296. It is doubtful whether this pope suffered martyrdom, and there is no foundation for the assertion that he instituted the seven orders of the clergy.

Christians, that the bishopric remained void for seven years, seven months, and twenty-five days.¹

MARCELLUS, a Roman of the *Via Lata*, sat ten years, seven months, and twenty-one days, in the time of Maxentius and Maximin. He was condemned by the tyrant to groom horses in a stable, and died at length on the seventeenth of the calends of February [16th January]. The see was vacant twenty days.²

EUSEBIUS, a Greek, who was formerly a physician, sat six years, one month, and three days, in the time of Constantine. He died on the sixth of the nones [2nd] of October, and the see was void seven days. In his time the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ was found on the fifth of the nones [3rd] of May, and Judas Cyriacus was baptized.³

MELCHIADES, an African, filled the see four years. He forbade the faithful to fast on Sundays and Thursdays, according to pagan rites. He was interred in the cemetery of Calixtus, on the Appian Way, on the fourth of the ides [10th] of December, and the see was void sixteen days.⁴

SILVESTER, a Roman, whose father's name was Rufinus, and his mother's Justa, was bishop of Rome twenty-three years, ten months, eleven days.⁵ He was educated at Rome by Cyrinus the priest, and imitating his life and conversation, reached the highest point of Christian perfection. From his youth he was given to hospitality and other good works. At that time he entertained Timotheus on his coming from Antioch to Rome, and seconded his efforts in publicly preaching Christ. Fifteen months afterwards, when Timotheus was put to death for the truth by Tarquin, prefect of the city, Silvester conveyed the body of

¹ A.D. 296—304. The preceding observations may be applied to the martyrdom and decrees of Marcellinus. The number of the martyrs who perished in 304 is not generally reckoned as more than sixteen or seventeen thousand. The holy see was vacant, not seven, but three years and a half.

² May 19, 308—January 16, 310. The degradation of Marcellus is very doubtful.

³ A.D. 310. The discovery of the true cross by the empress Helena was not made till 327. Judas Quiriacus, or Cyriacus, is an imaginary person.

⁴ July 2, 311—January 10 or 11, 314.

⁵ January 31, 314—December 31, 335.

the martyr by night to his own house, where he assembled Melchiades the bishop, with the holy priests and deacons, to perform the obsequies of the martyr for Christ. Timotheus was thus honourably interred in the garden of Theona, a Christian matron, near the tomb of St. Paul. But Silvester was arrested by order of Perpenna Tarquin, and thrown into prison to be tortured on the morrow as a confessor of Christ. Meanwhile, however, the prefect, while at dinner, was choked by a fish-bone in his throat, and Silvester was joyously released from prison, while his persecutor was carried with mourning to the grave. Silvester was thirty years old when he was ordained deacon, and soon afterwards, at the entreaty of all the people, he was ordained priest by Melchiades the holy bishop. On his death, Silvester was unanimously elected pope. He was illustrious for his virtues, and the merit of his sanctity procured for him the esteem of all men.

An enormous dragon appeared on the Tarpeian mount, on which the Capitol stands, and the magicians with the sacrilegious virgins resorted to it once a month, with sacrifices and offerings, descending three hundred and forty-five steps, as if they were going to the infernal regions. The dragon rose suddenly, and though he did not go forth, his breath so poisoned the air of the neighbourhood, that it caused a great mortality, and especially there was much lamentation for the death of children. At length, the heathen, having entreated Silvester's help, he enjoined a three-days' fast on the Christians, after which, as he had been instructed in a vision by St. Peter the apostle, he descended with three priests and two deacons, and in the might of God chained up the dragon, so that the whole city, from that day and ever afterwards, delivered from its pestiferous breath, gave thanks to God. Many of the Romans who witnessed this, having thus escaped the plague of the dragon, and believing in Christ, were baptized.

The emperor Constantine, compelling the Christians to sacrifice to idols, and making great slaughter among those who refused to worship images, Silvester retired from the city, with his clergy, and concealed himself for some time on Mount Soracte, devoted to fasting and prayer. The avenging hand of God, however, struck Constantine with elephantine

leprosy, and thus checked the effusion of the blood of his servants. The emperor, in despair at such a calamity, inquired anxiously for some cure for his disorder, and by the abominable counsel of the priests of the Capitol, ordered a crowd of infants, to the number of three thousand, to be massacred, that a bath might be prepared of their blood, in which, plunging while it was yet reeking, he was told his leprosy would be cured. But when Constantine went forth from his palace to the baths, and perceived crowds of women bitterly bewailing the [threatened] slaughter of their children; he inquired the cause of such great lamentation, and learning the fact, was dreadfully shocked. He condemned such savage cruelty, and extolling the humanity of the Roman government in a long and eloquent speech, ordered the children to be restored to their mothers unharmed, adding liberal gifts, with provisions and carriages, and thus sent them away to their homes rejoicing.

The night following, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul appeared to him in a vision, and admonished by them, he recalled Silvester and his clergy, and heard from his mouth instruction in the true way of salvation, and truly submitted to him in all things. Then the pope imposed on himself and the whole Christian population a week's fast, at the end of which, on Saturday evening, he ordered the laver of salvation to be prepared in the Lateran palace, and consecrated it according to the ritual. Constantine was then baptized, and while a bright light shone round for nearly half an hour, he was cleansed of his leprosy, and confessed that he had seen Christ.

By command of the emperor Constantine, a council of forty-four bishops was assembled at Rome. In it Pope Silvester disputed with twelve of the most learned Jews, overwhelming them by God's help, with a mass of powerful authorities. He contended against the rabbins Abiathar and Joases, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God. Against the scribes Godoliah and Anna, he showed clearly, from the books of the prophets, that Christ was born of a virgin, tempted by the devil, betrayed by a disciple, arrested by his enemies, mocked and scourged; that he drank vinegar, and was sold; that his garments were divided by lot; that he was nailed to the cross, dead, and

buried. Against Dohet and Chusi, masters, and Bonoin and Arohel, interpreters of the law, he showed the vast benefits arising from the incarnation, the temptation, and the passion of Christ. Against the pharisees Jobal and Thara, it was authoritatively maintained that Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man, who, in his human nature, was tempted, suffered, and died, that he might procure the salvation of all men; but the divine nature was exempt from suffering, as the light which shines upon a tree, when an incision is made by the stroke of an axe, receives no impression. A copious argument was sustained by Seleon the priest, that the Son of God is rightly called the Lamb without spot, because he was slain for the offences of the whole people. He was born of the virgin, that we may be horn of our virgin mother the church. He was thrice tempted, that he might deliver us from the like temptation; taken, that we may be set free; bound, that we may be liberated from the bonds of the curse; mocked, that he might deliver us from the illusions of the demons; sold, that he might redeem us; humbled, that we might be exalted; a captive, that he might deliver us out of captivity to the demons; stripped, that the nakedness of the first man, by which death entered into the world, might be covered; crowned with thorns, that he might eradicate from us the thorns and thistles of the original curse; having gall for meat, and vinegar for drink, that he might bring us into a land flowing with milk and honey; and finally, sacrificed on the altar of the cross, that he might take away the sins of the whole world. Here the cause of the devil failed, who, having set calf against calf, and goat against goat, could not find a lamb to set against the Lamb without spot. Our King died, that he might subdue the power of death; he was buried, that he might consecrate the tombs of the saints; he rose again, that he might give life to the dead; he ascended into heaven, that he might not only restore to man the paradise he has lost, but might also open to him the gates of heaven. He now sits at the right hand of the Father, that he may grant the prayers of believers; and he will come to judge the living and the dead, that he may render unto every one according to his works. This is the true faith of Christians.

When Silvester had argued these and many other matters with great force, and Seleon, in the silence of the other Jews, had commended the statements of the pope, Zambri the twelfth, who was a very skilful magician, put himself forward in opposition. This man chose to contend, not with the authentic words of scripture, but with magic arts, demanding that a mad bull should be brought to him in the presence of them all. The pope and the emperor assenting, presently the bull of Terence, who was so fierce that a hundred stout soldiers could hardly hold him, was brought in; And upon Zambri's whispering something secretly into its ear, the wretched animal groaned, and its eyes leaping from their sockets, instantly expired. Upon this, the crowd of Jews began to insult Silvester, and for nearly two hours there was a violent tumult. The emperor, having at length enforced silence, Silvester, advancing to the magician, demanded whether he could restore to life, in the name of the Lord, the bull which he had just put to death. This Zambri was unable to do, but he declared loudly and swore, by the life of the emperor, that if Silvester would recover the bull from death, all the Jews would renounce the law of Moses, and embrace the religion of Christ. Hearing this, the holy pontiff spread out his hands, and prayed for some time in tears, and on bended knees. His prayers being ended, he drew near to the bull, and cried with a loud voice: "In the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate, rise up, and stand quickly." The animal immediately arose, and the holy bishop, having set free its horns from the bonds, "Go peaceably," he said, "to the herd to which you belong." And the bull immediately returned to the herd with all gentleness. Then all the Jews threw themselves at the feet of Silvester, and entreated that they might be regenerated by the water of baptism.

Helena, herself, the emperor's mother, appeared in public without reserve, kissing the feet of the pope in the sight of all, and begging him to assign her a place of penance. At the same moment, many demons came out of the bodies they had taken possession of, confessing that they were compelled to depart by the commands of St. Silvester.

In the disputation between the Jews and Christians, which has been already mentioned, the emperor and senate

appointed Zenophilus and Crato censors and umpires, the one being a Greek and the other a Latin. Both were skilful orators, men of wit, and lovers of truth, and had been for a long time held in the highest esteem in the Roman court, as men of probity and contemners of avarice. Both were heathens, so that they might favour neither party on account of religions, but study only to promote justice, neither Christians nor Jews suspecting them of inclining to their side.

On the triumph of the Christian cause through Silvester, many gentiles as well as Jews believed, and as the controversy was held in the beginning of the first month, they changed their names, and were baptized at Easter. From that time the Lord's name began to be magnified by the Roman people, and the company of the faithful throughout the world to be strengthened, and greatly exalted everywhere by the power of God.

At the command of Constantine, Silvester assembled a council of 318 bishops at Nice, in Bithynia, and of 227 at Rome. It was decreed that no layman should prosecute a charge against a clerk, and that the oppressed should choose their own judges. Deacons were to wear dalmatics, and to cover their right arm with a linen napkin. No clerk was to proceed in the civil courts for any cause whatever, nor to plead before any judge except in the ecclesiastical court. The sacrifice of the mass was not to be celebrated with a silk or coloured altar-cloth, but with one of linen only, as it is read our Lord's body was so wrapped by Joseph at his burial. Whoever wishes to become a soldier of the church, and to rise in the ranks, he must be a reader for twenty years, an exorcist for thirty days, an acolyte five years, a sub-deacon five years, a deacon seven years, a priest three years; and afterwards, if he be worthy, he may be made a bishop. Silvester died at last, after a long course of excellence, on the sixth of the calends of January [31st December].¹ The see was vacant 165 days.

¹ St. Silvester's feast occurs in the Roman breviary on this day. It need hardly be remarked, that almost all our author has said of him is of a legendary character. It does not appear even that the council of Nice was convoked by the pope; and his great age not allowing him to be present, he was represented by his legates.

MARK, a Roman, the son of Priscus, filled the see two years, seven months, and twenty days. He founded two churches, one in the cemetery of Balbina, on the road to Ardea, where he was buried, and the other in the city of Rome, near the Palatine mount. He ordained twenty-seven bishops to different sees, and died on the nones [7th] of October, and the bishopric was void twenty days.¹

JULIUS, a Roman, whose father's name was Rusticus, sat fifteen years, two months, seven days. He suffered much tribulation in the time of Constantius the heretic, and was ten months in exile for the Catholic faith; but after the tyrant's death he was restored with honour to his bishopric. He founded two churches, and three cemeteries, and consecrated nine bishops. He died the day before the ides [12th] of April, and the see was void twenty-five years.²

LIBERIUS, a Roman, son of Augustus, held the see six years, three months, four days, in the time of Constantius. He was three years in exile for the faith; but afterwards, joining the party of the Arians, he was recalled by Ursatius and Valens, the heretical priests, and violently persecuted the Catholics. At length he was interred on the seventh of the calends of May [25th April] in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the Salarian Road; and the see was void six days.³

FELIX, a Roman, whose father's name was Anastasius, sat one year, three months, three days, during the exile of Liberius. In a council of forty-eight bishops he excommunicated the emperor Constance, who had been re-baptized by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, as well as the heretics, Ursatius and

¹ January 18—October 7, 336. One of the churches built by Mark still retains the name of St. Balbina; the other bears his own name. The cemetery of St. Balbina, more anciently called the cemetery of St. Pretexatus, was situated between the Appian and Ardeatine roads, near that of St. Calistus, with which it had a communication.

² A.D. 337—352. This pope was neither subject to the banishment nor the tribulations attributed to him. The western church enjoyed profound peace during his popedom. One of the churches he built stood in the Forum, and another on the side of the Flaminian Way; his three cemeteries along the Flaminian, Aurelian, and Ostian roads.

³ May 22, 352—September 24, 366. Liberius was banished from 355 to 358. He had the weakness to subscribe the decrees of the first council of Sirmich, but he never persecuted the Catholics, and returned to the orthodox faith in 359. Our author is mistaken as to the length of his popedom and the day of his death, but not as to the place of his interment.

Valens. In consequence, he was deposed and put to death in the city of Corona,¹ on the third of the ides [11th] of November, and the see was void thirty-seven days. He consecrated nineteen bishops; and his days count in the episcopate of Liberius; for the statutes which Liberius made before his banishment have force, but those enacted after his return are void, because he had joined the heretics.²

DAMASUS, a native of Spain, whose father's name was Anthony, filled the see eighteen years, three months, eleven days. Ursinus was consecrated in opposition³ at the same time, but being expelled from Rome he was made bishop of Naples. Damasus merits great praise for his virtues. He made researches for, and discovered, many remains of saints to whose memory he composed verses. Being maliciously accused of adultery by two deacons, Concordius and Calixtus, he was acquitted of the charge, and his accusers condemned by a synod of forty-four bishops. He ordered the psalms to be sung regularly day and night in the churches, and transmitted a decree to that effect to the priests and bishops and monasteries. Damasus had a great regard for St. Jerome the interpreter of the divine law, supporting him with his pontifical authority, and encouraging him to establish the true sense of the scriptures. He ordained sixty-two bishops in different cities. He was buried near his mother, in the church which he built on the road to Ardea, on the third of the ides [11th] of December, and the see was void thirty-one days.⁴

¹ There was a city of this name in the Peloponnesus. The French translator, however, renders it Cortona, which was in Tuscany, on the borders of Umbria, a more probable reading.

² Felix having been substituted for Liberius immediately after the banishment of the latter, he can only be considered an anti-pope. All that we here read of him is controverted, except the council he convoked in 358. After the restoration of Liberius Felix retired into the country, and died in 365.

³ *Sub intentione*, a phrase often used by our author to express a double election, or one in opposition.

⁴ A.D. 366—384. Baronius has collected the greatest part of the poems composed by Damasus in honour of the saints. The council of forty-four bishops at which it is said Pope Damasus cleared himself of the charge of adultery, being then eighty years of age, rests on the authority of the *Pontificals*, and could not have been earlier than the year 381. The part of the catacombs where he was interred was near the cemetery of St.

SIRICIUS, a Roman, son of Tiburtius, sat fifteen years. He made many useful decrees, which he promulgated throughout the world, being deeply concerned for the flock of Christ. He consecrated thirty-two bishops in different parts. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Salarian Road on the eighth of the calends of March [22nd February], and the bishopric was vacant twenty days.¹

ANASTASIUS, a Roman, son of Maximus, sat three years, and ten days.² He ordered that when the holy gospel was read the priests should not sit, but stand with their heads inclined. He forbade that any foreign clerk should be ordained without the signature of his own bishop. He built the Crescentian church in the second region of the city of Rome, and consecrated eleven bishops. He was interred in his own cemetery at Ursipilatum³ the fifth of the calends of May [27th April], and the see was void twenty-one days.

INNOCENT, of Albano, whose father's name was also Innocent, held the see fifteen years, two months, twenty-one days. He made a great number of decrees; he discovered and banished many Montanists,⁴ and condemned the heretics Pelagius and Cælestes. Innocent consecrated the church in honour of the holy martyrs Gervase and Protase,⁵ built according to the will of an illustrious woman named Vestina;

Calistus, on the Via Ardea, as here stated. His remains were afterwards translated to the church he built near the theatre of Pompey, and which bears the strange name of St. Laurent *in Damaso*.

¹ A.D. 384—398. We owe the first decretal which is considered authentic to this pope. The epitaph inscribed on his tomb in the cemetery of Priscilla has been published by Gruter and Baronius.

² December 5, 498—April 27, 502.

³ This word is written in the MS. of St. Evroult *Arsipileatum*; the French editor says it should be read, *ad Ursum pileatum*: query rather *pilatum*? answering to our "bear and ragged staff," the cognizance of the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. There were two cemeteries of this name near Rome; the one here mentioned is situated on the road to the episcopal city of Ostia. It having been destroyed, Pascal I. translated the remains of his predecessor to the church of St. Praxidius.

⁴ *Kataphrygas*. The *Pontifical* of Anastasius is the doubtful authority on which rests our author's statement of the banishment of the Montanists by Innocent.

⁵ The situation of this church is unknown, but it formed a title of the Roman church which was no longer in existence in the time of Gregory the Great.

and he honoured it with many gifts. He ordained fifty-four bishops. He ordered a fast to be observed on Saturday, because on that day our Lord lay in the sepulchre, and his disciples fasted. He was interred in the cemetery at Ursipilatum the fifth of the calends of August [28th July], and the see was void twenty-two days.¹

ZOSIMAS, a Greek, whose father's name was Abramius, sat one year, three months, eleven days.² He made many ecclesiastical constitutions; amongst others, he ordered deacons to have the left arm covered with linen napkins, and that candles should be blessed in the parishes.³ He consecrated eight bishops.

BONIFACE, a Roman, whose father was Jocundus, a priest, sat three years, eight months, seven days.⁴ He was consecrated on the same day with Eulalius, in opposition, and the schism among the clergy lasted seven months and fifteen days. Eulalius was consecrated in the church of Constantine, and Boniface in that of Julius; but both were expelled by the authority of the emperor Honorius, and of Valentinian, son of Placidia Augusta.⁵ At the approach of Easter, Eulalius entered Rome, baptized in the church of Constantine, and celebrated the festival. But the emperors, incensed at his presumption, banished him to Campania, and recalling Boniface to Rome, established him in the bishopric. He made a decree that no nun or woman should touch or wash the holy altar-cloth; and that no one but one of the clergy should carry incense into the church. No slave, and no one liable to any office in the courts, or in other affairs, could receive holy orders.⁶ Pope Boniface founded

¹ A.D. 402—417.

² "Zozimas." March 18, 417—December 26, 418.

³ These two regulations are correctly attributed to Pope Zosimas.

⁴ A.D. 418—422.

⁵ Boniface I. was consecrated in the church of St. Marcellus, not in that of Constantine, now called St. John Lateran. Honorius at first favoured the cause of Eulalius, but after a synod held at Milan both the pretenders were forbidden to enter Rome until the decision of a council convoked at Spoleto for the 13th of June was known. Eulalius disregarded this prohibition, but as he was driven out of the Lateran church and expelled the city on Holy Thursday, he could not have celebrated Easter there, as our author states.

⁶ The two constitutions here attributed to Pope Boniface, according to the *Pontificals*, are of very questionable authority.

an oratory in the cemetery of St. Felicitas the martyr, near her tomb; and ordained bishops in thirty-six different places. At last, he was interred near the body of St. Felicitas, on the Salarian road, the eighth of the calends of November [October 25]. The bishopric was vacant nine days. Then the clergy or the people demanded the return of Eulalius, but he would not consent to return to Rome.¹

CELESTIN, a Roman, son of Priscus, sat eight years, ten months, seventeen days. He made many good decrees. He ordered that some of the one hundred and fifty psalms of David should be chanted by a double choir before the sacrifice of the mass; for before, only an epistle of St. Paul was read, and the holy gospel, and then mass was said. He consecrated forty-six bishops. He was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, on the fourth of the ides [10th] of April, and the see was void twenty-one days.²

SIXTUS, a Roman, whose father's name was Xistus, sat eight years and nineteen days. Being accused by a man named Bassus, the emperor Valentinian assembled a council of fifty-six bishops, by whom the pope was acquitted, and Bassus condemned. The latter died within three months, and his body was interred at St. Peter's by the pope. Pope Sixtus added many ornaments to the churches of the saints, and ordained fifty-two bishops. He was interred on the road to Tibur, in a crypt near the body of St. Lawrence;³ and the see was void twenty-two days.⁴

LEO was born in Tuscany, and his father's name was Quintian. He sat twenty-one years, one month, thirteen days.⁵ He assembled at Chalcedon, with the concurrence

¹ It is incorrect that Eulalius was proposed for successor to Boniface; nothing is known respecting him after this expulsion.

² September 10, 422—July 26, 432.

³ Among the works of this pope are reckoned the restoration of the basilica of Liberius, now called the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the baptistery of St. John Lateran. He was interred, as here stated, by the side of the road to Tivoli, in a crypt of the church of St. Lawrence *in agro Verano*.

⁴ July 31, 432—August 18, 440. Our author has gathered this story of the charge made against Sixtus III. from the *Pontifical* of Anastasius, in which the accuser is called Bassus, who is described as of consular rank. In the text of Ordericus the phrase is *a quodam vasso*, "by a certain vassal."

⁵ A.D. 440—451.

of Marcian, a Catholic prince, a council of two hundred and fifty-six bishops, and having obtained the assent by their signatures of four hundred and six bishops,¹ he set forth the Catholic faith, and condemned the heretics Eutyches and Nestorius. Pope Leo wrote a number of epistles in defence of the faith, confirming frequently the decision of the council of Chalcedon. He addressed twelve epistles to the emperor Marcian; to Pulcheria the empress, nine; to the eastern bishops, eighteen. Full of zeal in sacred things, he did much good. He consecrated one hundred and eighty-five bishops. He was interred at St. Peter's, the third of the ides [11th] of April, and the bishopric was vacant seven days.²

HILARY, a native of Sardinia, whose father's name was Crispin, held the see of Rome six years, three months, ten days.³ He addressed many epistles to the oriental churches, confirming the three councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and condemning all heresies by an anathema. He placed many rich ornaments in the churches of the saints, and ordained twenty-two bishops. After many good works, he was buried at the church of St. Lawrence, in the crypt, near the tomb of Pope Sixtus, and the bishopric was vacant fifteen days.

SIMPLICIUS, born at Tibur, son of Castinus, sat fifteen years, one month, seven days. He ordained thirty-six bishops, and was interred in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, on the sixth of the nones [2nd] of May. The see was void six days.⁴

FELIX [II.], a Roman, son of the priest Felix, by the title of Fasciola, filled the see eight years, eleven months, seventeen days,⁵ in the times of the emperor Zeno, and

¹ The number of the bishops assembled at the council of Chalcedon was 520, and the subscriptions (as our author himself states, book i. ch. xxiii. p. 123) were 630.

² The tomb of St. Leo was placed in the porch of the church of St. Peter. It was opened in 1607. See Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, i. p. 160, and the Bollandists.

³ A.D. 461—468.

⁴ A.D. 468—483. He was buried, like Pope Leo, in the porch of St. Peter's church.

⁵ A.D. 483—492. The title of Fasciola was the same with that of St. Nereus and St. Achilleus.

Odoacer, king of the Goths, to the reign of Theodoric. This pope excommunicated Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, who had departed from the right faith, sending two bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, from the apostolic see to depose them. But when they reached the city of Heraclea, they were induced by bribes not to execute the pope's commission. Felix, having heard this, examined the affair and excommunicated both. He consecrated thirty-one bishops, and was buried in the church of St. Paul, the Apostle, in the time of the king Theodoric, and Zeno, the emperor. The bishopric was vacant five days.¹

GELASIUS, an African, son of Valerius, sat eight years, eighteen days.² He was a kind friend to the poor, increased the power of the clergy, and delivered Rome from famine and danger. This pope published constitutions for the entire church. He composed tracts and hymns like St. Ambrose, and published works against Eutyches and Nestorius, which are preserved to the present day in the archives of the libraries. He ordered the Manicheans, whom he discovered at Rome, to be carried into banishment, and caused their books to be burnt before the doors of the Church of Santa Maria. He condemned for ever, if they did not repent, Peter and Acacius, for the many crimes and murders they had caused. He ordained sixty-seven bishops, and was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, on the eleventh of the calends of December [21st November]. The see was void seven days.

ANASTASIUS [II.], a Roman, whose father's name was Peter, of the fifth region called the Bull's Head, filled the see one year, eleven months, and twenty-four days.³ Many

¹ These legates arrived at Constantinople in 484. It was not at Heraclea, but at the Dardanelles, that they were arrested by order of the emperor Zeno. The council at which they were excommunicated, together with Acacius and Peter Mongus, was held after their return in the month of July, the same year. The death of Felix improperly styled III. (for the pope designated Felix II. was an antipope), is incorrectly assigned to the reign of the emperor Zeno, which ended on the 9th of April, 491, as well as to that of Theodoric, who did not succeed Odoacer till March, 493.

² March 1, 492—November 14, 496.

³ November 24, 496—November 17, 498. It is easy to refute what our author has taken from the *Book of Pontificals* on the schism connected with the recall of Acacius, since he died in 489.

of the clergy withdrew from his communion, on his wishing to recall Acacius privately, which he could not accomplish because he was struck by God. He consecrated twenty bishops. He was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, on the thirteenth of the calends of December [19th November], and the bishopric was vacant four days.

SYMMACHUS, born in Sardinia, whose father's name was Fortunatus, filled the see fifteen years, seven months, twenty-seven days, in the time of Theodoric the king and Anastasius the emperor.¹ He was consecrated in opposition to Lawrence, bishop of Nocera; and by the decision of Theodoric, as he was the first consecrated and had the majority, he was confirmed in the apostolic see. But, three years afterwards, he was falsely accused through the ill-will of the Romans, and Peter, bishop of Altinum, usurped the apostolic see contrary to the canons.² A great schism was therefore made in the church, and the clergy again divided. But Pope Symmachus justified himself in a synod, in which one hundred and fifteen bishops were assembled, and Peter of Altinum, the usurper of the apostolical see, and Lawrence of Nocera, were condemned. Then Symmachus was replaced on the apostolical throne at St. Peter's by all the bishops, the clergy, and people, in great triumph. However, Festus, chief of the senate, and Probinus, ex-consuls, and other senators, commenced disturbances in the city, and attacked all who were in communion with Symmachus with such violence that they even dragged nuns from their convents and retreats, and, regardless of their sex, scourged them until their naked bodies were wounded with the stripes. They fought daily against a church in the middle of the city, where many priests and others of the faithful were slain. Among others, Dignissimus and Gordian, priests, were taken and slain with staves and swords, as well as many other Christians. None of the clergy were safe in the city, by

¹ November 22, 498—July 19, 514. The consecration of Symmachus and his competitor Lawrence, who was afterwards bishop of Nocera, took place the same day.

² The second schism appears to have commenced as early as 499. The last sitting of the council which confirmed the election of Symmachus was held on the 23rd of October, 501, and its decrees were subscribed, not by 115, but by 76 bishops. The scandals and outrages described by our author occurred in the early part of the preceding September.

night or by day; and Faustus, the ex-consul, was the only one who fought for the church. Notwithstanding, Symmachus maintained himself from the consulship of Paulinus to that of Senator. He drove into banishment the Manicheans, whom he discovered at Rome, and burnt their images and books before the gates of the basilica of Constantine. He enriched the churches of the saints with a variety of ornaments, and ordained one hundred and seventeen bishops. He ordered the angelic hymn¹ to be sung every Sunday. Every year he supplied money and clothes to the bishops who were banished to Africa and Sardinia. He ransomed captives in Liguria and other provinces, and distributed largely to the poor. After many good works he was interred in the church of St. Peter, on the nineteenth day of the month of July; and the bishopric was vacant seven days.

HORMISDAS, born in Campania, son of Justus, of the city of Frusinone, filled the see eight years, and seventeen days. By the advice of King Theodoric he sent to Constantinople Eunodius, bishop of Pavia; and Fortunatus, bishop of Catania; to absolve the Greeks who had been excommunicated on account of the heresies of Peter, bishop of Alexandria; and Acacius of Constantinople. But the emperor Anastasius, favouring the Eutychian heresy, sent back the envoys in great haste, and in his rescript to the pope, among other things, said haughtily: "It is ours to command, not to be commanded." Not long afterwards, by God's permission, he was struck with thunder. He was succeeded by Justin, a Catholic, who willingly submitted to the directions of the pope in all things, and received with honour Germanus, bishop of Capua, and the other envoys from the apostolic see, who were conducted by the consul Vitalian, and a great company of monks and men of rank, from the Round Tower to the city of Constantinople. Some of the clergy who were accomplices with Acacius, envious of such a triumph, shut themselves up in the great church of St. Sophia, and taking counsel together, sent a message to the emperor, that unless Acacius, their bishop, was unconditionally restored, they would refuse submission to the apostolic see. At this time, Clovis, king of the Franks,

¹ The *Gloria in Excelsis*, mentioned before, p. 318.

becoming a Christian, sent an offering to the tomb of St. Peter the Apostle, with precious jewels. The aforementioned pope flourished from the consulship of Senator to the time of Symmachus and Boëtius, and ordained fifty-five bishops in different places. He was interred in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, on the eighth of the ides [6th] of August. The bishopric was vacant seven days.¹

JOHN, a native of Tuscany, son of Constantius, sat two years, nine months, and sixteen days, from the consulship of Maximus to that of Olibrius. At that time Justin, the orthodox emperor, wished to extinguish all heresies, and have the churches in which they were taught consecrated to the true faith. At this Theodoric Walamir, being a heretic, was much incensed, and determined on ravaging the whole of Italy with the sword. Pope John was requested by the king at Ravenna to undertake a mission to Constantinople, which, though he was sick, he accomplished, and while there gave sight to a blind man. He was received with great honour by the emperor Justin whom he crowned, and obtained from him indulgence for the heretics to save Italy from devastation. Meanwhile, the heretic king put to death the illustrious senators and ex-consuls Symmachus and Boethius. Pope John also, and the senators who had been honourably entertained by the emperor, were treacherously arrested by Theodoric on their return; and the pope was imprisoned at Ravenna and suffered martyrdom on the fifteenth of the calends of June [18th May]. Theodoric himself, by the will of God, died suddenly ninety-eight days afterwards. Pope John consecrated fifteen bishops. His

¹ A.D. 514—523. The mission of the bishops of Pavia and Catania to Constantinople took place in 515. It was on a second mission, in 517, that the emperor Anastasius made a reply in much the same terms as are here reported. Doubts are entertained whether he was really struck by lightning on the 8th of July of the year following, as also before stated, p. 113. It is certain, however, that he expired in the midst of the fright occasioned by the thunder storm. Justin succeeded him the next day. The pope's legates arrived at Constantinople the 25th of March, 519. It has been already observed, that Acacius was dead ten years before. The dispute respecting him was limited to the question whether his name should be retained in the diptichs. The resistance made by part of the clergy entrenched in Sta. Sophia is a mere fable. It was not with this pope, but with his predecessor Anastasius, that Clovis corresponded after his conversion.

body was translated from Ravenna to the church of St. Peter at Rome; and the bishopric was vacant fifty-eight days.¹

FELIX, a Samnite, son of Castorius, filled the see four years, two months, and thirteen days, in the time of Theodoric, and Alaric his nephew, and of the emperor Justinian, from the consulship of Tiburtius to that of Lampadius and Orestes. He was inaugurated without tumult, and ordained twenty-nine bishops. He was interred in the church of St. Paul the Apostle on the fourth of the ides [12th] of October. The bishopric was vacant three days.²

BONIFACE, born at Rome, whose father's name was Sigibuld, sat two years, twenty-five days, in the time of Alaric, the heretic, and the emperor Justinian. At his election there was great dissension, both among the clergy and in the senate, for twenty-eight days. Dioscorus was consecrated at the same time in the basilica of Constantine; but, by God's will, he died shortly afterwards on the second of the ides [14th] of October. He had numerous partisans. As for Boniface, he gave dishes of meat to the priests and deacons, and notaries, supplied from his own patrimony, and made abundant provision of food for the clergy when famine threatened. He assembled a synod in the church of St. Peter, and chose the deacon Vigilus for his successor, but afterwards, repenting his having subscribed the act, erased his signature in the presence of the clergy and senate. He was interred at St. Peter's on the seventeenth day of the month of October, and the see was void two months fifteen days.³

JOHN MERCURY, a Roman, son of Projectus, of the Cœlian Mount, filled the see two years, four months, six days, in the time of Alaric and Justinian. That pious emperor,

¹ A.D. 523—526. In speaking of heresies in this paragraph, the Arians are to be understood. In giving to Theodoric the surname of Walamir, our author seems to adopt the opinion of those who regard him as Walamir's son, but he appears to have been only his nephew. The journey of the pope to Constantinople took place at the beginning of the year 525. Boetius was arrested at Pavia, and put to death as early as 524.

² A.D. 526—530. There was no consul of the name of Tiburtius.

³ A.D. 530—532. The name of the father of this pope appears to have been Sigiswult, from which we may conclude that he was of Gothic origin, though born at Rome.

actuated by warm devotion to the Christian religion drew up a statement of his belief, which he sent to the apostolical see, with his own signature and many valuable gifts, by the hands of Eparchius and Demetrius. John consecrated twenty-one bishops. He was interred at St. Peter's on the sixth of the calends of June [27th May], and the see was void six days.¹

AGAPITUS, a Roman, son of Gordian, a priest, filled the see eleven months, eighteen days. Theodotus, king of the Goths, who had put to death Amalasonta, daughter of king Theodoric, sent him to Justinian the emperor, by whom he was honourably received at Constantinople. While there he procured the banishment of Anthemius, bishop of that city, because he denied the two natures of Christ. Having consecrated Mennas, a Catholic, bishop of Constantinople, he died there on the tenth of the calends of May [22nd April.] His body was conveyed to Rome in a leaden coffin, and interred at St. Peter's on the twelfth of October, and the bishopric was vacant one month twenty-eight days.²

SILVERIUS, a native of Campania, son of Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, sat one year, five months, six days. He owed his elevation to the tyrant Theodotus, who was induced by bribery to effect it by violence and terror. Two months afterwards, by God's will, Theodotus died, and Witigis having carried off and married the daughter of Amalasonta, ascended the throne. The emperor Justinian commissioned Belisarius the patrician to deliver Italy from the Goths. The patrician consequently laid siege to Naples, which he took by storm, putting all the Goths and citizens to the sword, so that not even the priests and nuns in the monasteries escaped. Soon after this Witigis, collecting an army of Goths, besieged Rome for a whole year, vast numbers perishing by the sword as well as by the famine which now prevailed throughout the world. No one was allowed to enter or depart from the city. All property, private and public, not excepting the churches, was destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants were either butchered, or fell victims to famine and pestilence. At length, God in his mercy sent

¹ A.D. 533—535. The embassy of Hypacius (not Eparchius) and Demetrius to the pope took place in 533.

² A.D. 535—536.

Belisarius to defeat the Goths and save Rome. The empress requested Silverius to recall the heretic Anthemius, but the pope putting his trust in God refused compliance, and defended the sentence of his predecessors by his own authority. Upon this, the empress commanded Belisarius the patrician to send Silverius into exile, and to substitute Anthemius as his vicar-general in the church of Rome. Belisarius very reluctantly complied with the orders of the empress, and the pope being charged by false witnesses with plotting to deliver up Rome to the Gothic king, by introducing him at the Asinarian gate near the Lateran, he was arrested in the Pincian palace. Antonine, the patrician, then sharply rebuked the pope, and John the sub-deacon, removing the pallium from his shoulders, divested him of his pontifical robes in his chambers and dressed him as a monk. Silverius was banished to the island of Pontia, where, after great suffering, and being reduced to bread and water for sustenance, he was buried on the twelfth of the calends of July [20th June]. He consecrated eighteen bishops, and after his death performed many miracles in healing the sick. The see was void fourteen days.¹

VIGILIUS, a Roman, son of the consul John, filled the see fifteen years, six months, twenty-six days. At this time Belisarius defeated Witigis, and John, the bloody master-general of the army, pursued him all night and made him prisoner. The captive king being conducted to Constantinople, Justinian received him into favour, and creating him patrician and count, sent him to reside on the Persian frontier, where he remained until his death. The emperor also conferred on Belisarius the highest military dignity, and employed him in Africa. Deceiving Guittarith, king of the Vandals, with friendly professions, Belisarius put him to death, and restored Africa to the dominion of Rome, from which it had been detached ninety-nine years. He then visited Rome, and made many offerings to God and St.

¹ A.D. 536—538. Theodotus was killed towards the month of August, 536. Belisarius came from Sicily to Italy in the spring of that year; took Naples after a siege of twenty-two days, and entered Rome the 10th of December. The siege of Rome by Witigis was in 537—538. Silverius was first banished to Patara in Lycia, afterwards to the island of Palmaria on the coast of Italy, where he was starved to death.

Peter, distributing also alms to the poor, from the spoils of the Vandals.

The Empress Theodora urged Pope Vigilius, also, to recall the heresiarch Anthemius, but he positively refused, adhering strictly to the opinions of his predecessors. At the suggestion therefore of some ill-disposed Romans, who imputed the death of Silverius to the pope, Anthemius sent an imperial commissioner, arrested Pope Vigilius in the church of St. Cecilia, and carried him to Constantinople by way of Sicily. For two years the Greeks used the whole influence of the imperial authority to induce him to recall the heretic, as he had promised when he filled the office of deacon. But the pope persisted in his refusal, preferring an honourable death to a dishonourable life. At length, when upon his strongly declaring his resolution in the presence of Justinian and Theodora, some one struck him in the face, the pope fled to the church of St. Euphemia, and clung to the pillar of the altar. But he was forced out of the church and dragged round the city by a rope about his neck till the evening. He was then committed to close custody, and the Roman clergy who had attended him were sent to different mines.

Meanwhile, the Goths elected Totila king, and soon afterwards laid siege to Rome. During the continuance of the siege the famine in the city was so severe that mothers were ready to feed on their own children. Totila at length gained entrance into the city, of which he held possession for some time, the people sheltering themselves in the churches. But afterwards the emperor sent Narses his eunuch and chamberlain into Italy, who defeated the army of Totila who fell in the battle. The emperor Justinian was full of joy at this intelligence, and on the petition of Narses and the Romans set at liberty Pope Vigilius and his clergy; but he died of stone at Syracuse. His body was brought to Rome and interred in the church of St. Marcellus, on the Salarian road, when the see was void three months and five days. This pope consecrated eighty-one bishops, and appointed Ampliatus the priest his vicar to govern the church during his exile, and sent from Sicily Valentine the bishop to the Lateran.¹

¹ A.D. 538—555. Vigilius was elected and consecrated pope in the

PELAGIUS, a Roman, son of John the vicar-general, filled the see eleven years, ten months, and twenty-seven days. He was consecrated by two bishops, John of Perugia and Bonus of Ferentino, with Andrew priest of Ostia. Numbers of the religious, and well-informed, and noble persons separated from his communion in the persuasion that Pelagius was a party to the death of Pope Vigilius, in consequence of the sufferings he had undergone. Pope Pelagius, therefore, and Narses consulted, and a procession having been formed from the church of St. Pancras, when litanies were sung, and hymns and anthems chanted, on their arrival at St. Peter's, the pope ascended a pulpit, holding the gospels in his hand with the crucifix raised on high, and satisfied the people that he had done no injury to Vigilius. He consecrated forty-nine bishops. Pelagius was buried at St. Peter's on the 6th of the nones [2nd] of March. The bishopric was vacant three months, and twenty-five days.¹

JOHN, a Roman, son of the illustrious Anastasius, filled the see twelve years, eleven months, and twenty-six days. At that time the Heruli having elected Sindbal their king, were bent on subjugating the whole of Italy, but Narses slew their king and entirely defeated them. He also, by God's aid, put to death Amingus [Lothaire], and Buceline, chiefs of the Franks, who invaded Italy, to which he restored peace and prosperity. The Romans, however, from envy, accused him to Justinian, and raised disturbances against his government. Narses therefore, upon finding himself deprived of his dignities by the emperor, called in the

lifetime of his predecessor, but we date his popedom from the death of Silverius. Witigis was taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople in 540. Belisarius's expedition to Africa was undertaken in 532, and the war ended by the captivity of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, in 534. Nothing is known of the person our author calls Guittarith, and his murder by Belisarius. The latter returned from Africa to Rome in the beginning of 547, soon after the pillage of the city by Totila. Vigilius arrived at Constantinople the 25th of January. We have no other account of the ill treatment he received in 551, proceeding to the length of his being buffeted in the presence of the emperor and empress; indeed Theodora was not then living, having died in 548. Rome was taken by Totila the second time in 549. Pope Vigilius died at Syracuse the 10th of January, 555, as he was on his return to Rome.

¹ A.D. 555—560. The epitaph on Pope Pelagius may be seen in Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, i. p. 161.

Guinilian Lombards, who inhabited Pannonia, to invade Italy. Narses died not long afterwards, and his body being enclosed in a leaden coffin was conveyed, with all his wealth, to Constantinople. Pope John consecrated sixty-one bishops, and was buried in the church of St. Peter the apostle on the 3rd of the ides [13th] of July. The bishopric was vacant ten months and eleven days.¹

BENEDICT, a Roman, son of Boniface, sat four years, one month, and twenty-eight days.² King Alboin led the Lombards into Italy in the year of our Lord 568. A great famine then afflicted Italy and compelled it to submit to Alboin. Upon learning this, the emperor Justinian sent to Egypt, and causing ships loaded with corn to be despatched to Rome, thus saved the city from the famine which threatened it. This emperor, for his numerous victories over foreign enemies, received the surnames of Alamannicus, Gothicus, Vandalicus, and Africanus. He founded a church, within the walls of Constantinople to the honour of Christ, which is called in Greek "Hagia," meaning Santa Sophia. This building so surpasses all others that it stands unrivalled among all the edifices in the world. Justinian was a prince devoted to the Catholic faith, pure in his conduct and just in his judgments, so that he succeeded in all his enterprises. In his time Cassidorus, a senator who afterwards became a monk, distinguished himself at Rome both in sacred and profane learning. Among his other excellent works, one of the principal is a commentary on the Psalms.

At that time also Dionysius, who was made an abbot at Rome, composed an admirable work on calculating Easter.

Priscian, also, a native of Cæsarea, but established at Constantinople, penetrated, if I may so speak, all the depths of grammatical science.

Arator, likewise, sub-deacon of the church of Rome, an

¹ A.D. 560—573. Sindbal, chief of the Heruli, was hung by order of Narses, before he had time to make great devastations. Our author has substituted *Amingus* for Lothaire, one of the French chiefs put to death by Narses. For observations on the calumnies of the Romans against Narses, see before, book i. p. 115, and the same note respecting the *Guinili*.

² A.D. 574—578. Alboin, king of the Lombards, issued from Pannonia the 2nd of April, 568, to invade the Venetian provinces; he took Milan the 4th of September in the year following, and afterwards made himself master of the greatest part of Italy, including the duchy of Beneventum.

admirable poet, gave the Acts of the Apostles in hexameter verse.

Then also the most reverend father Benedict, who first settled at a place called Subiaco, forty miles from Rome, and afterwards at Monte Cassino, shed around him the light of his great virtues and apostolical life. His life, as is well known, has been the subject of an eloquent discourse in Pope Gregory's Dialogues.

Pope Benedict died, worn out with labours and troubles, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, the 2nd of the calends of August [31st July]. He consecrated twenty-one bishops; the see was void three months and ten days.¹

PELAGIUS, a Roman, son of Winigild,² filled the see ten years, eleven months, and ten days. He was consecrated without the emperor's confirmation, because Rome was besieged by the Lombards who were fearfully devastating Italy. In his time there was much bloodshed and excessive rain. The pope was suddenly carried off by a contagious pestilence, and died on the 7th of the ides [7th] of February; and was buried at St. Peter's. He consecrated forty-eight bishops for different places, and the see was vacant six months and twenty-five days.³

¹ Our author makes a great mistake in representing Pope Benedict as contemporary with Justinian, who died on the 14th of November, 565. The church of Santa Sophia was consecrated 27th of December, 537. Cassiodorus had died at an advanced age in the time of Pope John III., about the year 565. Reference has been already made in the notes, book i. p. 115, to Dionysius the Little, who died in 540. Priscian, the celebrated grammarian, flourished at Constantinople about A.D. 525. Arator, as it has been already remarked, was contemporary with Pope Vigilius. St. Benedict, who was born in 480, after having founded his first monastery at Subiaco as far back as 497, retired to Monte Cassino, where he died the 21st of March, 543.

² It is curious to observe how speedily the posterity of barbarian and heathen invaders not only adopted the faith and civilization of the people subjected, but raised themselves to its first ranks. Pelagius is the second pope of Rome, in the sixth century, who was of Gothic extraction, Boniface (see p. 340) being the first. Thus we shall find in the sequel of this work that in England the primacies of Canterbury and York were both filled by Danes or Norwegians within fifty years after the island was first devastated by a people represented by the writers of the times to be in a state of unmitigated barbarism.

³ November 30, 578—February 8, 590. Pelagius fell a victim to the plague which ravaged Rome in the beginning of the year 590.

GREGORY, a Roman and philosopher, son of Gordian the prætor, a man of the highest rank, and of the most excellent Sylvia, presided over the Roman see thirteen years, six months, ten days, in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius, Constantine, Maurice, and Phocas.¹ Gregory composed forty homilies on the gospels; he wrote commentaries on the Psalms and Ezekiel, and published a pastoral and a dialogue, with many other works which we cannot stay to enumerate. This incomparable doctor was highly distinguished for deep wisdom and great learning, both in the writings and discourses of his useful labours, by which he rendered the greatest service to the sons of the church of God. He added to the canon of the mass the words, "And grant thy peace in our days," &c.² The Roman patrician and exarch came to Rome while Gregory was pope, and occasioned great troubles.³ On his return to Ravenna, he seized the cities of Sutri, Bomarzo, Amelia, Pérouse, and some others held by the Lombards. Upon this, the king Agilulf, being greatly incensed, attacked Pérouse with a powerful army, besieging in it Maurision, general of the Lombards, who had submitted to the Romans, whom he made prisoner in a few days, and immediately put to death. Not long afterwards, Agilulf, having returned to Pavia, made a lasting peace with the Romans, through the mediation of the blessed pope Gregory.

At the same time, St. Gregory commissioned the servants

¹ September 3, 590—March 12, 604. It was not St. Gregory's father who was prætor of Rome, but the bishop himself before his conversion. His popedom did not correspond with the reign of Tiberius Constantine, but only with those of the two other emperors here named.

² The words added are, *dies nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum*; "Dispose our days in thy peace, preserve us from eternal damnation, and number us among thine elect; through Christ," &c. The clause immediately precedes the consecration prayer in the office of the mass. It appears to have been first introduced during the perils to which Rome was exposed when besieged by Agilulf in 595.

³ The Roman patrician, who was also exarch of Ravenna from 590 to 597, constantly opposed the pacific policy of Gregory. The siege of Rome resulted from the exarch having taken possession of the places here named, which the Lombards had held. Peace with them was not restored until 598.

of God, Mellitus, Augustine, and John, with several others who feared the Lord, to preach to the English nation, and convert them to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. After many great and memorable works, Pope Gregory was buried in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, before the sacristy, on the fourth of the ides [4th] of March. He consecrated seventy-two bishops in different places, and the bishopric was vacant five months and eighteen days.¹

SABINIAN, a native of Blesa,² in Tuscany, whose father's name was Bonus, sat one year, five months, and nine days. At this time Rome was afflicted with a grievous famine; and the pope, having concluded a peace with the Lombards, caused the granaries of the church to be opened, and corn to be sold at the rate of thirty bushels of wheat for a shilling. This pope was buried in the church of St. Peter, on the sixth of the calends of March [February 24]. He consecrated twenty-six bishops, and the see was void eleven months and twenty-three days.

BONIFACE [III], a Roman, son of John of Cappadocia, filled the see eight months and twenty-two days.³ He obtained from the emperor Phocas his confirmation of the claim of the apostolical see to be the head of all churches, the church of Constantinople having made pretensions to precedence over that of Rome, and assumed the primacy. He was buried at St. Peter's on the second of the ides [12th] of November. He consecrated twenty-one bishops, and the see was void ten months and six days.

BONIFACE [IV.], a native of Valeria,⁴ a city of the Marci, son of John the physician, filled the sea six years, eight months, and thirteen days. In his time there were grievous famines, and pestilences, and inundations. He petitioned the emperor Phocas for the temple called the Pantheon,

¹ See before, book i. p. 117, respecting the mission of St. Augustine and his companions to England; and, in regard to the tomb of St. Gregory at St. Peter's, Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, i. p. 161. The *secretarium* of the pontifical churches was a sacristy reserved for the use of the popes, in which they were robed before they took part in the service.

² September 13, 604—February 22, 606. Blesa is now called Breda, a town ten miles from Viterbo.

³ February 25—November, 606.

⁴ A.D. 607—615. Valeria is a town of the Abruzzi.

and having obtained it, dedicated it in honour of All Saints.¹ He was buried at St. Peter's on the eighth of the calends of June [May 25]. He consecrated thirty-six bishops. The see was void six months and thirty-five days.

DEUSDEDIT, a Roman, son of Stephen, a sub-deacon, sat three years, twenty-three days.² He greatly loved and honoured the clergy. At that time Eleutherius, the patrician and chamberlain, reduced Naples, and slew John Campius, in whose rebellion many had fallen. Peace, therefore, prevailed through all Italy, but there was a great earthquake, followed by so foul a pestilence, that no one could recognize the dead bodies of their friends.³ Pope Deusdedit was buried at St. Peter's on the sixth of the ides [8th] of November. He bequeathed to each of the clergy a vestment⁴ for his obsequies. He consecrated twenty-nine bishops, and the see was void one month and sixteen days.

BONIFACE [V.], of the city of Naples, in Campania, whose father's name was John, filled the see five years. He was the mildest of men, and did great good in the church. At that time Eleutherius the patrician invaded the kingdom, but he was slain by the troops from Ravenna, on his road from Luceoli to Rome. This pope was interred at St. Peter's, on the eighth of the calends of November [Oct. 25].

¹ See note to book i. p. 118, for the day of the dedication of the Pantheon after it was converted into a church by Boniface IV. The anniversary of this feast attracted so many strangers as sometimes to threaten the city with famine; in consequence Gregory IV. changed the day to the first of November, a season of the year when Rome was better supplied with provisions.

² November 13, 615—December 3, 618. Eleutherius was exarch from 616 to 619. When marching from Ravenna to Rome, to compel it to receive him as emperor, he was killed by his troops.

³ This pestilential disease appears to have been the elephantiasis, a sort of leprosy which produced a frightful scurf, which might have the effect here described.

⁴ *Rogam unam dimisit.* M. Le Prévost considers the meaning to be that the pope left a legacy of a certain amount, "*un legs spécial en argent*," to each of his clergy. The word *roga*, however, from *rogus*, a funeral pile, *royalis*, of or belonging to a funeral, seems to point to something immediately connected with that ceremony. M. Du-Bois, the French translator of Ordericus, renders the passage "*il accorde pour se obsèques un vêtement à chacun des membres du clergé*," a sense which is here adopted.

He consecrated twenty-nine bishops. The bishopric was vacant thirteen days.¹

HONORIUS, a native of Campania, son of the consul Petronius, filled the see twelve years, eleven months, and twenty-two days, in the time of the emperor Heraclius.² His good deeds were numerous and his teaching zealous. He appointed that every Saturday there should be a procession, departing from the church of St. Apollinarius, and going to St. Peter's, the people accompanying it with hymns and spiritual songs. He consecrated eighty-one bishops, and was buried on the fourth of the ides [12th] of October, in the church of the blessed martyr St. Agnes, which he had himself built from the foundation.³ The bishopric was vacant one year, seven months, and seventeen days.

SEVERIN, a Roman, son of Albienus, filled the see two months and two days, under the emperor Heraclius. He was mild and liberal, and very kind to the clergy and the poor. In his time the Lateran palace was violently pillaged by the Roman army under the command of Maurice, keeper of the records, and Isaac, patrician and exarch. This pope, having consecrated four bishops, was buried at St. Peter's, on the nones [2nd] of August. The see was vacant three months and twenty-four days.⁴

JOHN, a Dalmatian, son of Venantius the Scholastic, sat

¹ A.D. 618—625. *Castrum Luceoli* appears to be the place now called Ponte Riccioli.

² October 27, 625—October 12, 638. The father of this pope is called a consul, or consular man, at a time when the consulship had long ceased to exist either as an office or dignity, in the primitive sense of the term. It is probable that Petronius held some local magistracy to which the name had been transferred. It was revived in still later times as a title of honour, if not of office. Not only do the early English historians sometimes use the title indiscriminately with that of earl, but Robert, the distinguished son of Henry I. of England, was expressly created "consul of Gloucester."

³ The church of St. Agnes, first erected by Constantine at the request of his daughter Constantine, and embellished by Tiberius II., had been restored by Symmachus, and was now rebuilt from the foundation by Honorius. The mosaics which ornamented the apsis are still preserved, and represent the pope at the left hand of the saint, who stands in the centre. See *Ciampini*, vols. ii. and iii.

⁴ May 29—October 11, 640. The papal treasury was pillaged during the unusual interval which elapsed between the death of the late pope and the election of Severin.

one year, nine months, eighteen days. He transmitted large sums of money by the holy abbot Martin into Istria and Dalmatia for the redemption of captives; and caused the relics of saints to be reverently transferred from thence. He was buried at St. Peter's, on the fourth of the ides [12th] of October; and the see was vacant one month, thirteen days.¹

THEODORE, a Greek, son of Bishop Theodore, and born at Jerusalem, filled the see six years, five months, eighteen days.² At that time the abandoned Maurice, keeper of the records, revolted against Isaac the patrician, and secured the adhesion of the army and magistrates by oaths. But Isaac despatched Donus, his master of the troops and sacristan, to oppose Maurice, with directions to take him prisoner, and having beheaded him, to expose his head on a pole in the circus at Ravenna, and throw the others implicated into close imprisonment to await their punishment.³ Isaac himself, however, by God's will, soon after died suddenly, and Theodore Calleopa was sent by the emperor to succeed him in the government of Italy. Pope Theodore was very pious and good. He deposed Pyrrhus and Paul, heretical bishops of Constantinople,⁴ and consecrated forty-six bishops. He was interred at St. Peter's, on the ides [15th] of May; and the bishopric was vacant one month, sixteen days.

MARTIN, of Lodi, filled the Roman see six years, one month, and twenty-six days.⁵ In his time, Paul, bishop of Constantinople, revolted from the Catholic doctrine, and rudely overturned and stripped the altar belonging to the see of Rome, which was dedicated in the house of Placidia. He prohibited the pope's vicars from worshipping there, or

¹ December 24, 640—October 11, 642. The relics here mentioned were those of St. Anastasius, St. Venantius, St. Maur, and their companions.

² November 24, 642—May 13, 649.

³ Maurice, after the pillage of the papal treasury, took refuge in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, from which he was dragged forth, and his head, having been cut off by the soldiers who had orders to take him to Ravenna, was presented to Isaac. The latter died by accident in 648, and was interred in the church of St. Vitalis, where his epitaph remained for several centuries.

⁴ The deposition of the patriarch Paul and the excommunication of Pyrrhus were pronounced at a council in which the pope presided in 648, the decree of which he is said to have signed with consecrated wine.

⁵ July 5, 649—September 16, 655.

offering the consecrated host, and celebrating the holy communion. On his being admonished by the apostolical vicars and other orthodox bishops, he only grew more furious, insomuch that he had some of them placed in confinement, some he sent into banishment, and others were subjected to scourging. Hearing this, Pope Martin assembled one hundred and five bishops at Rome, and condemning the heretics, confirmed the faith of the church of God. Afterwards, however, at the instigation of Paul, the emperor Constantine sent Theodore into Italy as exarch, and he caused Pope Martin to be banished to the Chersonesus, where the holy bishop died, on the fifteenth of the calends of October [September 17].¹

EUGENIUS, born at Rome in the first or Aventine quarter, and son of Rufinian, was bred to the church from his infancy. He filled the see two years, nine months, and twenty-four days.² He was a most excellent bishop, and excommunicated Peter, bishop of Constantinople, for his heresy.³ He consecrated twenty-one bishops; and was buried at St. Peter's on the 4th of the nones [4th] of July. The see was void one month, twenty-one days.

VITALIAN, born at Segni in Campania, and son of Anastasius, filled the see fourteen years and six months. He was a strict observer of order, and consecrated ninety-seven bishops. At that time the emperor Constans besieged Romoald, the son of King Grimoald, in Beneventum, but

¹ The council assembled by Pope Martin was held in the month of October, 649. Though he was carried off from Rome in June, 653, he did not reach Constantinople till the 17th of September of the year following, having been detained in the island of Naxos. After a thousand hardships and outrages, his imprisonment was transferred to the Chersonesus, where he died at the time already stated.

² A.D. 654—657. This pope was nominated by the emperor in the lifetime of his predecessor. The Aventine was the first of the seven ecclesiastical districts called regions, into which Rome was divided in the middle ages. It extended on the left bank of the Tiber as far as the church of St. Paul, which was included in it, thus enclosing the region of the circuit of Augustus, called the Aventine, and perhaps the thirteenth (the Fish-market), and the first (at the Capuan gate).

³ It was in 656 that Peter, patriarch of Constantinople, having sent his confession of faith to Rome, it was rejected with indignation by the clergy and people, who would not permit the pope to celebrate mass until he had promised not to accept it.

being defeated and forced to flee, he came to Rome, where he was honourably received and entertained by the pope and clergy for twelve days, but he raised money by stripping the city of the monuments which embellished it. He also wrought much evil on the Italians and other nations who owed him allegiance, but was soon afterwards assassinated in Sicily by his own attendants while he was bathing. On his death, the tyrant Mezentius usurped the throne. It was now that the Saracens massacred vast numbers of the Christians in Sicily. However, Pope Vitalian was then dead, and was buried at St. Peter's on the 6th of the calends of February [27th of January], and the bishopric was vacant two months and thirteen days.¹

ADEODATUS, a Roman who had been a monk, and son of Jovian, filled the see four years, two months, and five days. Mezentius was now put to death by the Italian army at Syracuse, and his head, with those of several of the judges, was carried to Constantinople. The Saracens then took Syracuse, putting a multitude of the citizens to the sword, and returned to Alexandria, carrying with them the rich booty which the emperor Constans had lately brought from Rome. This pope consecrated forty-six bishops, and was interred at St. Peter's on the 6th of the calends of July [21st of June]. The bishopric was void three months and sixteen days. At that time there were such violent rains and thunder storms that the harvest could not be got in; but the next year the grain sprung up self-sown.²

DONUS, a Roman, son of Maurice, filled the see one year, five months, and ten days. At that time a comet appeared in the east during three months, in the month of August

¹ A.D. 657—672. We have corrected the text in this paragraph by inserting the name of Constans for that of Constantine. The spoliations committed by Constans when he visited Rome in 663, after his fruitless siege of Romoald at Beneventum, have been already mentioned. The name of the usurper was not Mezentius, but Mizizi; but he was invested in the purple for some weeks against his own wishes. The Saracens, who had already made themselves masters of part of Sicily in 663, reduced and pillaged Syracuse about the year 673, carrying off to Alexandria all the bronze which Constance had stripped from the edifices at Rome.

² A.D. 672—676. It was Constantine Pagonat who put to death Mizizi, as well as his father's murderers. Why they are called judges we are at a loss to understand.

from cock-crowing till day-break, to the great terror of the inhabitants of many countries in which it was visible. A great mortality followed in the east. Pope Donus granted various honours to . . .¹; and consecrated six bishops. He was interred at St. Peter's on the third of the ides [2nd] of April. The see was void two months and fifteen days.

AGATHO, a Sicilian, sat two years, six months, and four days, in the time of the emperors Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius.² At that time the moon was eclipsed for eighteen days in the month of June.³ A great mortality ensued; parents with three or four of their children being carried to the grave together. The pope's legates were honourably received by the emperors in the royal city, and a general council of one hundred and fifty bishops of the east was assembled to discuss the Catholic faith. George of Constantinople, being convicted of heresy, submitted quietly to its decision; but Macharius, bishop of Antioch, persisting in his obstinacy, was condemned with his followers, and being deposed by a unanimous decree was banished to Rome.⁴ Theophanius was made abbot in the island of Sicily. Pope Agatho consecrated eighteen bishops. He was buried at St. Peter's on the fourth of the ides [10th] of January; and the see was vacant one month and seven days.

LEO the younger, a Sicilian by birth, son of Paul, sat ten months and seventeen days. He was very eloquent, well read in the sacred scriptures, learned in the Greek and Latin languages, and he took the lead in chanting and psalmody, and was zealous in all good works. He convoked the sixth general council in the palace of the emperor Constantine, called Trullus, and translated its acts from Greek into Latin with great care. On the 16th day of April,

¹ The MSS. are imperfect in this place. M. Le Prévost suggests that the blank should be supplied with *clerum*, "clergy."

² June 26, 679—January 10, 682. Heraclius and Tiberius were the brothers of Constantine Pogonat, who associated them with him in the empire at the commencement of his reign, and put them to death before his own death.

³ Every one knows that an eclipse cannot last many days. The one here mentioned took place the 17th of June, 680.

⁴ Macarius died at Rome in the monastery assigned for his prison by Leo II.

the first indiction, after the Lord's supper, the moon was eclipsed, her face having the colour of blood almost all night, but after cock-crowing it began gradually to brighten. Pope Leo consecrated twenty-three bishops. He was buried at St. Peter's on the fifth of the nones [3rd] of July, and the bishopric was vacant eleven months and twenty-two days.¹

BENEDICT the younger, a Roman, whose father name was John, filled the see ten months and twelve days. He was in the service of the church from infancy, and devoted to good works. He flourished in the time of Justinian and Heraclius. At that time the moon was completely overshadowed by a cloud, while the rest of the sky was clear, during the Epiphany. In the month of February a star disappeared from the east and appeared setting in the west. Afterwards in March, Mount Bravium in Campania vomited lava for ten days, and the whole neighbourhood was destroyed by the ashes of the eruptions. This pope consecrated twelve bishops; and was himself buried at St. Peter's on the eighth of the ides [8th] of May. The see was void two months and fifteen days.²

JOHN, born at Antioch in Syria, son of Cyriacus, filled the see one year and nine days, in the time of the emperor Justinian. While yet a deacon, he had been sent by pope Agatho with certain priests to the imperial city. He was interred at St. Peter's on the fourth of the nones [2nd] of August, and the bishopric was void two months and eighteen days. He was continually unwell, and ordained thirteen bishops.³

CONON, a Sicilian, whose father's name was Traceseus,

¹ August 17, 682—July 3, 683. Pope Leo was not consecrated till the 8th of October. The sixth general council ought not to be confounded, as it is by our author, with the council in *Trullo* of A.D. 691. Leo II implicitly received the decrees of that council, but it is not known that he translated them into Latin. The eclipse mentioned in this paragraph took place on the 16th of April, 683, at eleven P.M., being Holy Thursday.

² June 26, 684—May 7, 685. This pope was not contemporary with the emperor Justinian II. or Heraclius, but with Constantine Pogonat (668—September, 685). According to other historians, it was not the moon, but a star which exhibited the appearance here mentioned; and the mountain which was in a state of eruption was Vesuvius.

³ June 23, 685—August 1, 686. This pope had been Pope Leo's legate at the council of Constantinople.

filled the see eleven months. There was a severe contest at his election, the clergy supporting Peter the arch-priest and the army Theodore the priest who was next on the list. But suddenly, by God's providence, they all abandoned Peter and Theodore, and unanimously chose the lord Conon, an old man of a noble presence and great piety. He suffered continually from sickness, but he consecrated sixteen bishops. He was buried at St. Peter's on the tenth of the calends of October [21st September], and the bishopric was void two months and twenty-three days.¹

SERGIUS, whose family belonged to Antioch in Syria, but who was the son of Tiberius, settled at Palermo in Sicily, filled the see thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-three days, in the time of the emperor Justinian son of Constantine.² On the death of Pope Conon, part of the people elected Theodore the arch-priest, and another part Paschal, the arch-deacon; but while there was great contention, the clergy chose Sergius. Paschal had privately given a bribe to John Plantinus, the exarch, hoping through him to obtain forcible possession of the papacy, but he was disappointed.³ Some time afterwards he was dismissed from the arch-deaconry for practising magical charms, and five years afterwards died impenitent. The emperor Justinian ordered a synod to be held in the imperial city, the acts of which confirmed by his own signature, he sent to Pope Sergius at Rome by the hands of Sergius, master of the offices.⁴ But the pope, finding that some things were inserted contrary to the doctrine of the church, refused his subscription. This

¹ October 21, 686—September 21, 687. M. Le Prévost proposes to render the words *de patre Traceseo*, by "of a family from Thrace."

² December 15, 687—September 5, 701.

³ For Plantinus read Platyn. The amount agreed on between the exarch and Paschal, one hundred *livres d'or*, was not paid, but promised; however Sergius was compelled to fulfil his engagement.

⁴ The *magistrianius*, translated "master of the offices," was a high officer of the Greek emperor's household. The word occurs before, p. 214. The council in *Trullo* was held in 691, its decrees being subscribed by two hundred and eleven bishops. In 692, the emperor sent them to the pope, who did not even condescend to read them; and in 693 Zacharias, the protospathaire, was sent to Rome to arrest Sergius. This enterprise certainly did not succeed, but whatever our author may say, the pope had to suffer banishment for five years. *Aringhi*, i. p. 165.

produced a great disturbance, and Zachary, the protospathaire, was despatched to Rome by the emperor with orders to arrest the pope, and bring him to Constantinople. But the Almighty stirred up the troops at Ravenna and the Pentapolis, who marched to Rome and blockaded the city gates, that they might have an opportunity of killing Zachary, while he, much alarmed, fled to the pope's own chamber, and pusillanimously concealed himself under the bed in terror of his life. The soldiery from Ravenna, entering Rome by St. Peter's gate, beset the Lateran palace with their armed bands, and when the gates were shut against them, threatened to demolish them unless they were immediately opened. Upon this, the holy pope went out and gave an honourable reception to the soldiers and the people who had hastily assembled for his protection, addressing them in courteous terms, so that their fury was assuaged. But, full of zeal for God and love for the prelate, they would not relinquish the guard of the palace until they had driven the before named spathaire from the city with disgrace. His employer, also, the providence of God speedily so ordering it, was driven from his throne, while the church of God and its first bishop were by Christ's help preserved in safety. Pope Sergius discovered by a divine revelation a large piece of the true cross in a silver case in the sanctuary of St. Peter's, and directed that it should be adored by the people every year on the feast of the exaltation of the cross.¹ He also ordered that at the moment of breaking the Lord's body, the *Agnus Dei* should be sung thrice by the people.² This pope consecrated Damian archbishop of Ravenna, Bertwald archbishop of Canterbury, and Clement Willebrod bishop of the Frisians, with other bishops in various provinces, to the number of ninety-seven. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, on the 6th of the ides [8th] of September, under the reign of the emperor Tiberias. The bishopric was vacant one month, and twenty days.

¹ On the discovery of a portion of the true cross, see before, book i. p. 133.

² This was another of the additions to the ancient canon of the mass made by successive popes. It is retained in the English liturgy; "Lamb of God," &c. Concerning St. Willibrod, see book i. He arrived in Frisia in 690. Brihtwald, elected archbishop of Canterbury, July 1, 692, was consecrated June 29, 693, by Godwin, archbishop of Lyons.

JOHN, a Greek, sat three years, two months, and twelve days.¹ By his intercession Theophylact, exarch of Italy, was saved from being put to death in a tumult of the Roman people. He also caused Gisulf, chief of the Lombards, who burnt and ravaged Campania, to retire into his own states, after receiving large sums for the ransom of his prisoners. This pope consecrated fifteen bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's, the see remaining void one month and eighteen days.

JOHN, a Greek, son of Plato, filled the see two years, six months, and seventeen days. He flourished in the reigns of Tiberius and Justinian,² and was a most learned and eloquent prelate. He also carefully repaired many of the cemeteries of the saints and the churches which had fallen to decay and become ruinous.³ It was then that Aribert, king of the Lombards, son of Raginbert, duke of Turin, restored to St. Peter the Cottian Alps, and recorded the donation in a charter with golden letters.⁴ The emperor Justinian also, by the aid of Turbel, king of the Bulgarians, recovered the throne which he had lost, and caused the usurpers Leo and Tiberius to be put to death in the circus before all the people.⁵ Pope John ordained nineteen bishops. He was buried at St. Peter's, before the altar of St. Mary, mother of God, which he had himself erected, on the fifteenth of the calends of November [18th October]. The see was void two months.

SISINNIVS, a Syrian, son of John, sat twenty days.⁶ His mind was firm, and he was anxious for the prosperity of

¹ October 28, 701—January 9, 705.

² March 1, 705—October 17, 707.

³ The cemeteries repaired by this pope were those of Damasus, St. Mark, and St. Marcellinus, on the road to Ardea. He also rebuilt the church of St. Eugenius, which had become ruinous. The chapel he built and dedicated to St. Mary has been already mentioned.

⁴ The facts here related have been already mentioned, book i. p. 126. It must not be understood that the whole Cottian Alps, or Mont Genève, were included in the donation, but only the domains situated among them. It is singular that the Roman church, generally so careful to preserve the records of its title to estates, should have lost the charter of Aribert II. as well as that of Liutprand.

⁵ Ordericus has inverted the chronological order of these events; the first took place in 702, the second in 701.

⁶ January 18—February 7, 703.

Rome, but he was a martyr to the gout, and expired suddenly on the twentieth day after his consecration. He was buried at St. Peter's, and the bishopric remained vacant one month and eighteen days.

CONSTANTINE, a Syrian, whose father's name was John, filled the see eight years and fifteen days.¹ In his time there was a severe famine at Rome which lasted three years, and was followed by a season of extraordinary plenty. The emperor Justinian sent the patrician Theodore into Italy, who took Ravenna, and sent the contumacious archbishop Felix² into exile in Pontus, deprived of sight. The pope, at the emperor's request, undertook a journey to Constantinople with a numerous retinue, and was very honourably received by Justinian and Tiberius his son and the people. Not long afterwards Philip put Justinian to death and usurped the throne, but in a very short time he was deposed, and Anastasius, who succeeded, conformed to the orthodox belief.³ This pope consecrated sixty-four bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's of the ides [8th] of January; the bishopric remaining void forty days.

GREGORY [II.], a Roman, son of Marcellus, filled the see sixteen years, nine months, and eleven days, in the reigns of the emperors Anastasius, Theodosius, Leo, and Constantine.⁴ He founded many churches and abbies, and did many other good works which it is impossible to enumerate.

He employed Boniface, the bishop, in converting the Germans to the Christian faith. During his pontificate the

¹ March 25, 708—April 9, 715.

² The epithet here applied to the archbishop of Ravenna has reference to his insubordination to the holy see.

³ The expedition of the patrician Theodore to Ravenna was undertaken in 709. The pope's journey to Constantinople occupied the time from October 5, 710, the day of his departure, to the 24th of October of the year following. Justinian II. was beheaded October 11, 711, and his successor, Philip, had his eyes put out June 3, 713.

⁴ May 19, 715—February 10, 731. The pontificate of Gregory II. was far from lasting to the reign of Constantine Copronymus, which did not commence until 741. The works undertaken by this pope consisted more in restorations than new buildings. He sent Boniface into Germany in 718. There appears some exaggeration in our author's account of the effects of the inundation of the Tiber in 717; according to other historians the flood in the quarter of the *Via Lata* did not exceed the height of a man.

moon had once the appearance of blood until midnight. The river Tiber overflowed its banks and inundated Rome for seven days, so that it rose above the passage of the Flaminian Gate, and in the Broadway was the depth of a man's stature and a half. Pope Gregory and his clergy, with the people, chanting frequent litanies, by the mercy of God, after the eighth day the flood abated. Anastasius, driven from the throne, engaged in battle with Theodosius,¹ but he was defeated and forced to become a monk. The infidel nation of the Saracens, having afflicted Spain for ten years, attempted to pass the Rhone into France, when they were met by Eudes duke of Aquitain, and defeated with a slaughter of 300,000 of the enemy, while 1,500 Franks only are said to have fallen. At that time a fiery rain was seen to fall from the sky in some place in Campania, which burnt up the wheat and barley and pulse. When Leo was emperor, Constantinople was twice besieged by the Saracens, but God protecting it, the city was not taken, but 300,000 of the inhabitants perished by famine and pestilence.

Liutprand, king of the Lombards, at that time oppressed the Romans, but at the intercession of the people, and respecting his prayers and sanctity, he was induced to spare them. Duke Basil and Paul the exarch,² with other malcontents, received instructions from the emperor Leo to put

¹ The text, which has it *Tiberius*, is corrected. Theodosius's victory over Anastasius was obtained in the month of February, 716. One might suppose at first sight that our author is describing the irruption of Anbessa across the Rhone, but it is plain by the amount of the number of the slain, that he is speaking of the battle of Toulouse. Three consecrated sponges which Eudes pretended to have received from the pope, and which he distributed to his soldiers, greatly contributed to inflame the zeal of the Christians.

² The conquest by Liutprand of the greatest part of the towns in the duchy of Rome was effected in 729. It was the exarch Eutychius who attempted to obtain possession of the city, and he did enter it, but in a peaceable manner, through the good offices of the pope with his powerful ally. The emperor took measures against the pope as early as 726 at least when Jordan, the keeper of the rolls, and Lurion (in the MSS. called Barion), were killed by the Romans, and the duke Basil driven out of the city. The exarch Paul, who was not better treated by the Romans in 727, fell during an insurrection at Ravenna in 728. The imprisonment and murder of Exhilherat, duke of Naples (written Exclarat in the MSS.), and his son, appear to be connected with the same period.

to death Pope Gregory; but the Romans and Lombards, by God's providence, resisted their attempts, and protected the holy bishop. They slew Jordan, the keeper of the records, and John Lurion, and Exhilharat the duke, with his son Adrian, and entirely frustrated the emperor's nefarious designs. He had decreed that no image of our Saviour or of his holy mother, or of any saint, martyr, or angel, should be allowed in the churches, pretending that they were all forbidden. He therefore commanded all images in the imperial city to be removed and committed to the flames, threatening all who opposed with loss of their heads or their limbs. Leo deposed Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, who resisted this decree, and elevated the priest Anastasius in his place. In the month of January, the star which is called Anteper, shone with bright rays in the west. After this Tiberius Petasus made an attempt on the crown, but he was defeated and slain by Eutychius the exarch and the Romans who had flown to arms.¹ Pope Gregory consecrated one hundred and fifty bishops, and, after many good works, was buried at St. Peter's on the ides [1st] of February. The bishopric was vacant one month and five days.

GREGORY, a Syrian, whose father's name was John, filled the see ten years, eight months, and twenty-five days, in the reigns of the emperors Leo and Constantine.² He was much distinguished for his sanctity, piety, wisdom, and eloquence in the Greek and Latin tongues. He founded many sacred buildings, and added ornaments to several churches. A synod consisting of ninety-three bishops was convoked by him at Rome, in opposition to the heresies of the emperors Leo and Constantine, who had cast out the images of Christ and his saints from the churches, and irreverently burnt them. He added the following words to be recited by the priest in the canon of the mass: "Whose holy festival is this day celebrated throughout all the world in the sight of thy majesty, O Lord our God;" causing them to be in-

¹ Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed the 17th of Jan. 730, and Anastasius was appointed in his place five days afterwards. The revolt of Tiberius Petasus was prior to the edict against images, which was not issued until 730, though the emperor had begun to oppose them in 727.

² March 18, 731—November 27 or 28, 741.

scribed on stone in an oratory.¹ In his time Liutprand, king of the Lombards, laid siege to Rome, on which occasion the pope sought aid from Charles, king of the Franks.² It was then that Thrasimond, duke of Spoleto, having sought refuge at Rome, four cities were taken from the Romans. This holy pope consecrated eighty bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's on the fourth of the calends of December [28th November]. The see was void eight days.

ZACHARY, a Greek, son of Polychronius, filled the see ten years, three months, and fourteen days.³ Adorned with every virtue he conferred great benefits on the church. In his time Italy was in a very disturbed state: the pope, however, had an interview with King Liutprand, and succeeded in negotiating a treaty of peace for twenty years, and, recovering the prisoner Liutprand, died in the thirty-second year of his reign, and was succeeded by Ratchis, son of Pemmon duke of Forli. Then while the emperor Constantine marched against the Arabs, one Artabasdu contrived to usurp the government, but Constantine assembling the army of the east took the imperial city by storm, and deprived the rebel and his accomplices of sight. At that time Carloman, son of Charles Martel, king of the Franks, became a monk at Monte Cassino. King Ratchis also, at the exhortations of the pope, came to Rome, and by God's grace laying aside his crown, became a monk.⁴ Pope Zachary

¹ The council mentioned in this paragraph was held in 732. Ciampini iii. c. 4, preserves three prayers which Gregory III. caused to be inscribed in the crypt of St. Peter, but the fragment quoted by our author is not among them, and if the passage was introduced into the canon of the mass, its use has long since been discontinued. There are, however, corresponding words in the collect for the masses for martyrs, confessors, and bishops, and on the anniversaries of the dedication of churches.

² It will be observed that Ordericus Vitalis, like the Roman writers, always gives Charles Martel the title of king of the Franks. It was in 640 that Thrasimond, duke of Spoleto, who had revolted against Liutprand, having sought refuge and obtained succour at Rome, the Lombard king revenged himself by seizing the towns of Ameria, Orti, Bomarzo, and Bieda, (?) and by besieging Rome.

³ November 30, 741—March 14, 752.

⁴ Liutprand, in his treaty with the pope at the close of 741, restored the four towns he had taken the preceding year. Thrasimond was pardoned on condition of his becoming a priest, a treatment to which he had subjected his father. Liutprand died towards the month of January, 744, after a reign of thirty-one years and seven months. Hildebrand, his

translated the four books of Dialogues of Pope St. Gregory from Latin to Greek, and consecrated eighty-five bishops. He was buried at St. Peter's on the ides [15th] of March, and the bishopric was vacant twelve days.

STEPHEN, a Roman, son of Constantine, sat five years and twenty-eight days.¹ The people had elected another Stephen, a priest; but, three days afterwards, rising from sleep in good health, and sitting down for the despatch of business, he was suddenly deprived of sense and the power of speech, and died the next day. Upon this, Stephen, the deacon, a man adorned by every virtue, was elected pope. At that time Astulph, king of the Lombards, cruelly persecuted the church, and used every effort to reduce Rome itself to subjection. In consequence, the pope, finding that neither money nor prayers were of any avail, was under the necessity of undertaking a journey to France, to implore protection for the church. He was received with high honour by King Pepin and the Frank nobles, and was entertained the whole winter at the Abbey of St. Deny's, near Paris.² Soon afterwards Pepin laid siege to Pavia with an army of Franks, and compelled Astulph to swear to a treaty of peace with the Romans, but, as soon as Pepin retired to his own states, Astulph broke his oath, besieging Rome for four months, and violating the cemeteries, in which he disinterred the bodies of many of the saints. At the pope's entreaty Pepin again besieged Pavia, and, forcing the perjured king to surrender Ravenna, Narni, Rimini, and many other towns, added them to the patrimony of St. Peter. Not long afterwards Astulph perished while he was hunting, by a stroke divinely directed, and Duke Desiderius took possession of the throne.³ Pope Stephen consecrated

nephew, was deposed the August following, and Ratchis, duke of Friuli, succeeded him. Artabasdu, brother-in-law of Constantine Copronymus, having revolted against him during his absence, had his eyes put out the 2nd of November, 743. Carloman became a monk at Monte Cassino in 747, and Ratchis in 749.

¹ March 26, 752—April 25, 757.

² Concerning this journey of Pope Stephen II. to France, see previous note, book i. p. 131.

³ The first siege of Pavia was in 754, that of Rome by Astulph began January 1, 755, and the second siege of Pavia was undertaken in the course of the same year. The number of places which Astulph was com-

fifteen bishops, and crowned Pepin king of the Franks, with his Queen Bertrade, and their sons Charles and Carloman. He was buried at St. Peter's on the calends [1st] of May, and the see was void five days.

PAUL, a Roman, brother of Stephen, filled the see ten years and one month, in the time of Constantine and Leo.¹ His good deeds were many; he ordained sixty bishops, and after his death the see remained void one year and one month, while the intruder Constantine took possession of the apostolical seat.

STEPHEN, a Sicilian, son of Olybus, filled the see three years, five months, and twenty-eight days.² He was a firm, wise, and excellent prelate, and rendered great services to the church. Before his election an unprecedented outrage was committed at Rome; for Toto, duke of Nepi, compelled George, bishop of Præneste, very reluctantly, to consecrate the duke's brother Constantine pope, he being a layman.³ Soon after the ordination George fell sick, and became so infirm that he never afterwards sang mass. For his right hand dried up and became so palsied that he could not raise it to his mouth. A year after Rome was delivered up to Christopher the dean, and Sergius the sacristan, and Duke Toto was treacherously assassinated by Demetrius and Gratosus. Upon this, Stephen was lawfully elected pope with the general consent; and not long afterwards the intruder Constantine, with his brother Passibius, and Theodore, bishop and apostolic-vicar, were seized by some ruffians, who deprived them of sight; and Christopher, with his son Sergius and several others, perished by the craft and emissaries of King Desiderius.⁴ Meanwhile Stephen, soon after his consecration, sent Sergius the secondary to the

pelled to cede to the pope amounted to twenty-two, among which were Fano, Cesina, Sinigaglia, Forlì, Comacchio, and Narni. Astulph died and was succeeded by Didier, in the beginning of the year 755.

¹ May 29, 757—June 28, 767. This pope was not contemporary with the emperor Leo, but with Constantine only.

² August 7, 758—February 1, 772.

³ Nepi is a small town in the neighbourhood of Rome, on the river Briglia. Constantine retained possession of the apostolic see thirteen months.

⁴ It was five years afterwards that Christopher and his son Sergius had their eyes put out by Paul Afriartes, acting in concert with King Desiderius.

court of Charlemagne, king of the Franks, entreating his aid and advice. Upon this the king deputed to Rome twelve of the French bishops of the highest character, and best instructed in the holy scriptures, and in the rules of the sacred canons.¹

In the month of April a synod of bishops assembled in the church of St. Saviour, near the Lateran palace, and Constantine, who from a layman had been so precipitately made a clergyman and pope, was unanimously condemned. The synod further decreed, under penalty of excommunication, that no layman, or person of any order, should be raised to the popedom, except by passing through the regular degrees of orders; and that all which this Constantine had sanctioned in ecclesiastical affairs and divine worship should be performed anew, except baptism and holy unction. Pope Stephen consecrated thirty bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's, the bishopric remaining void eight days.

ADRIAN, a Roman, son of Theodore who lived in the district of the Broadway, filled the see twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days.² Of noble rank and graceful person, he was moreover firm, devout, and holy. In his time Desiderius, king of the Lombards, inflicted great evils on Rome, on Ravenna, and on the places subject to them. In consequence Charlemagne, at the pope's request, undertook an expedition into Italy, and after besieging Pavia for five months, by God's help forced it to surrender; and marching from thence to Rome, he and his army entered the city, amidst the highest honours, on the Saturday before Easter. He sent Desiderius captive to France, with his queen, and restored the patrimony of St. Peter which he had seized.³ Pope Adrian founded and ornamented churches

¹ Sergius had been sent as legate to King Pepin immediately after Stephen became pope, but on his arrival (September 24, 768) he found Pepin dead, and his sons Charlemagne and Carloman in possession of his dominions.

² February 9, 772—December 25, 795.

³ The Lombard king made himself master of Ravenna in 772, and proceeded on his march towards Rome the year following. The siege of Pavia lasted six months, as our author correctly states, during the winter and spring of 774, and Charlemagne entered Rome on Holy Saturday. Desiderius was confined in the abbey of Corby, where he ended his days. Charlemagne's donation to the Roman church included more territory than the Lombard kings had wrested from it.

and did many memorable things. He prevailed on the emperor Constantine to assemble a council of three hundred and fifty bishops at Nice, the acts of which he caused to be translated from Greek into Latin.¹ In the twentieth year of this papacy the Tiber overflowed its banks as far as the door of St. Peter's church, doing great injury to the citizens; but the pope ordered processions, and the Lord in his mercy abated the flood.² He consecrated one hundred and eighty-five bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's on the seventh of the calends of January [26th December], Leo being made pope in his stead the same day.

LEO [III.], a Roman, son of Aizuppius, sat twenty years, five months, and sixteen days,³ following in all things the examples of his predecessors. While he was engaged in the due performance of his office, and on a certain day was going in procession with the people to the church of St. Peter, Paschal the primicier, and Campol the sacristan,⁴ rushed from an ambush with their armed followers, and dispersing the terrified and unarmed populace, made an attempt to deprive the pope of his tongue and his eyes before the very altar of St. Peter. But some days afterwards Albinus the chamberlain released him from prison, and the Lord Almighty restored him to perfect health. Winigis, also, duke of Spoleto, came to his aid, and seeing the pope, who had been wounded with clubs and dashed before the altar, half dead and weltering in his blood, now wonderfully restored to health, the duke and the rest of the faithful

¹ This council assembled at Constantinople the 1st of August, 786, and resumed its labours at Nice on the 24th of September of the year following, continuing them to the 23rd of October. The translation of its decrees made by Pope Stephen was so literal as to be almost unintelligible.

² The inundation of which our author speaks occurred in the month of December, 791. The flood burst into the city at the Flaminian gate, now the Porta del Popolo, which it laid in ruins, as well as the Sublician bridge.

³ February 9, 772—December 25, 795.

⁴ *Primicerius, Sacellarius*. The primicier was the first officer of the Roman church, who in grand ceremonies attended the emperor and the pope on one side, while the secondary stood on the other, taking precedence of all other dignitaries. The sacristan was the fourth officer of the church, whose duty it was to distribute the pay of the troops, and the donations to the choir and clergy. The insurrection headed by these two leaders broke out on the 23rd of April, 749.

glorified God. The pope afterwards paid a visit to Charlemagne, and complained to him of the treatment he had received. He was received with the honours due to his high rank, and on his return was attended by two archbishops, Hildebald and Arno, with six bishops and three counts.¹ The king himself soon afterwards went to Rome and was crowned by the same pope on Christmas day at St. Peter's, being proclaimed by all, both Romans and Franks, emperor of Rome.

After this, on the second of the calends of May [30th April], the ninth indiction, a violent earthquake entirely destroyed the church of St. Paul, which Pope Leo rebuilt with great magnificence. This pope also instituted the rogations for three days before our Lord's ascension.² None of his predecessors bestowed so much care on the churches of the saints, their ornaments and all things necessary. He ordained one hundred and twenty-six bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's on the second of the ides [12th] of June. The see was void one month.

STEPHEN, a Roman, son of Marinus, sat seven months.³ To establish the peace of holy church, he went into France to the emperor Lewis, and obtained of him all that he requested, and mercifully recalled the exiles who were banished for their outrage on Pope Leo.⁴ He consecrated five bishops, and was interred at St. Peter's. The bishopric was vacant twenty-six days.

PASCHAL, a Roman, son of Bonosus, filled the see seven years, four months, and eighteen days.⁵ He followed the examples of his predecessors in great sanctity, doing much

¹ Pope Leo met Charlemagne at Paderborn, and returned to Rome the 29th of November of the same year. Hildebald (spelt Idilvald in the text) was archbishop of Cologne, and Arno of Saltzburgh.

² The earthquake which shattered and threw down the roof of the church of St. Paul happened in 801. It was not this pope, but Mamertus, who instituted the *rogations*, about the year 470. It should seem that Pope Leo III. introduced them at Rome, or at least regulated the ceremonial to be observed in them.

³ June 11 or 12, 816—January 24, 817.

⁴ The emperor received the pope at Rheims in the month of August. There is no other account of his having brought back from France the assassins of his predecessor, and it is not a very probable circumstance.

⁵ January 25, 817—May 11, 824. This pope rebuilt three churches, St. Praxedes, St. Cecilia in Transtevere, and Santa Maria in Dominica.

that was both useful and ornamental to the church. He consecrated eleven bishops, and was interred at St. Peter's, the see being void four days.

EUGENIUS, a Roman, a good and holy prelate, filled the see four years.¹ At that time extraordinary plenty and peace reigned throughout the world.

VALENTINE, a Roman, son of Peter, from the quarter of the Broad-way, endowed with every virtue, filled the see fourteen days.² He was elected in the Lateran palace by one hundred bishops, and the chief men of Rome with all the people, and being taken from the church of St. Mary, mother of God, was placed on the papal throne; but he died shortly afterwards in sanctity.

GREGORY [IV.], a Roman, son of John, distinguished for his noble person and birth, and a wise and holy bishop, filled the see sixteen years.³ In his time the Saracens made irruptions from their own territories on the islands and states of the Christians, which they grievously ravaged, butchering the inhabitants, and destroying in their fury the churches and dwellings of the faithful. Pope Gregory surrounded Ostia with walls to protect it from their incursions, from which it was afterwards called Gregorianopolis.⁴ His other good deeds were numerous; for he built many churches, and, translating numerous relics of the saints, deposited them in suitable receptacles. He consecrated one hundred and eighty-five bishops, and was buried at St. Peter's. The bishopric was vacant fifteen days.

SERGIUS [II.], a Roman, whose father's name was also Sergius, filled the see three years.⁵ Although he was canonically elected, John the deacon, with a band of armed peasants, burst the gates, and, trampling on all the traditions of law and order, forced their way into the papal palace. But in the course of an hour the troops, being seized with a panic, took to flight, and John the intruder

¹ June 5, 824—August 27, 827.

² August to September, 827.

³ A.D. 827—854.

⁴ The Saracens made themselves masters of Crete and Sicily between the years 820 and 830, which induced Gregory IV. to fortify Ostia, to protect Rome from their attacks.

⁵ January or February, 844—January 27, 847.

was made prisoner, and having been scourged was degraded from his office of deacon.¹ At that time the emperor Lothaire sent to Rome Drogo, archbishop of Metz, with his own son Lewis, attended by many bishops, abbots, and counts. On their route they made great slaughter in the towns and country, so that the native inhabitants, terrified at their cruelty, were forced to take refuge in woods and dens. Then, on a certain day, the sky grew black with clouds, and some of Drogo's chief attendants were struck with lightning and killed. Lewis, however, proceeded to Rome, when Pope Sergius anointed him with holy oil, and consecrated him king of the Lombards.² This pope ordained twenty-three bishops and founded several abbeys and churches. He was buried at St. Peter's, and the bishopric was vacant two months and fifteen days.

LEO [IV.], a Roman, son of Radvald, sat eight years, three months, and six days.³ He shone brightly, like the sun, in the world, by his inestimable gifts, serving the church of God in various ways, both by building and embellishing churches, and by other useful undertakings. Presently, after the death of Pope Sergius, the Saracens pillaged the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul; but as their fleet was returning to Africa it was destroyed by a tempest.⁴ At that time there was such an earthquake at Rome that all the elements seemed in disorder. Pope Leo prohibited laics from remaining in the sanctuary while mass was celebrated. In the first year of his papacy, he drove away by his merits and prayers a basilisk which, lurking in the dark caverns of Rome, destroyed many persons with its pestiferous breath. This holy pope also extinguished

¹ The election of Pope Sergius II. was hardly completed when John the deacon forced his way into the papal palace.

² Lewis II., son of the emperor Lothaire, arrived in Rome on Sunday the 8th of June, 844, and was crowned by Sergius II. the 15th of the same month, king of Lombardy; a young prince who defended his kingdom and the imperial rights in Italy with great spirit.

³ January 27 or 28, 847—July 17, 855.

⁴ The pillage of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, both then *fuori muri*, by the Saracens occurred in the month of August, 846, and consequently in the time of Pope Sergius. They were attacked by Lewis at the head of the Franks on their retreat, but gained their fleet, in the shipwreck of which the booty they carried off from Rome was lost.

a fire which raged furiously in the street of the Saxons, by simply making the sign of the cross.¹ He founded and embellished many churches, rebuilt cities, and repaired the walls of Rome. He also built a wall round the church of St. Peter, and was in some sort the founder of a city, since called from his name, the Leonine city, which he consecrated in the presence of the whole population of Rome with great rejoicings on the 4th of the calends of July [28th June].²

CH. XIX. *Continuation of the series of popes, from the death of Leo IV., A.D. 855, to Innocent II., the reigning pope, A.D. 1142.*

I HAVE now given, in a short chapter, such an account of a hundred popes who presided in the apostolical see after St. Peter, as I could collect from the writings of Pope St. Damasus to Jerome, or in the *Pontifical*.³ But further, respecting the forty popes who filled the apostolical see from the time of Leo IV. to the present time, I have not yet been able to discover any genuine accounts; I shall, therefore, venture to say but little about them. Their names only it will be my endeavour to supply in regular order, but I am under the necessity of observing silence on their origin and

¹ The fire here mentioned is that which is represented by Raphael in his celebrated picture, which goes by the name of *Incendio del Borgo*.

² Pope Leo IV. repaired many of the churches and monasteries, which he enriched and embellished, particularly the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, from which he was anxious to remove all traces of the devastations made by the Saracens. The repairs of the walls of Rome, and the fortifications with which he surrounded the Vatican, including the church of St. Peter, commenced in 848. These latter works lasted six years. Gibbon remarks of Pope Leo: "The capital of Christendom owed its salvation as much to the heroism of the pope Leo IV. as to the valour of the imperial troops. Born a Roman, the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his bosom."

³ It is generally understood that the *Pontifical*, attributed during the middle ages either to Pope Damasus or St. Jerome, was the work of neither; but its history is too obscure and too complicated a subject to be discussed in a note. Suffice it to say, that it now bears the name of Anastasius the librarian, who, if not its author, was at least its compiler and editor. Ordericus has miscounted the number of popes contained in his list, which (including the antipope Felix II.) amounts to one hundred and forty.

acts, until, by God's help, I shall have been able, as I wish, to meet with fuller records concerning them.

Pope BENEDICT filled the see one year, six months, and ten days.¹

Pope NICHOLAS, four years and ten months.²

Pope ADRIAN, five years.³

Pope JOHN, ten years.⁴

Pope MARINUS, one year and four months.⁵

Pope ADRIAN, one year and four months.⁶

Pope AGAPITUS, one year.⁷

BASIL STEPHEN⁸ one year; then FORMOSUS,⁹ JOHN,¹⁰ and STEPHEN,¹¹ flourished in the time of Lewis d'Outremer,¹² They were followed by MARINUS, AGAPITUS, OCTAVIANUS, LEO, BENEDICT, BENEDICT, GERBERT, SILVESTER, AGAPITUS, and BENEDICT. Thus, for nearly a hundred and ten years, eleven popes filled the apostolical see of whom I have been hitherto unable to discover either the genealogies, or the time of their elevation, or the date of their deaths.¹³

CLEMENT SUITGER, who had been bishop of Bamberg,

¹ Benedict III., July 17 or 18—September 1, 855—April 8, 858.

² Nicholas I., April 24, 858—November 13, 867.

³ Adrian II., November 13 or 14, 867—December 13 or 14, 872.

⁴ John VIII., December 14, 872—December 15, 882.

⁵ Marinus I., December, 882—May, 884.

⁶ Adrian III., May, 884—September, 885.

⁷ Agapitus was the same person as Adrian III.

⁸ Stephen V., who bore the name of Basil in his youth, September, 885—August 7, 891.

⁹ Formosus, September, 891—April, 896.

¹⁰ For John, read Boniface VI. He was pope only fifteen days.

¹¹ Stephen VI., August, 896—897; about fourteen months.

¹² Our author is mistaken in representing the last three popes as contemporary with Louis d'Outremer, whose reign began in June, 936, and terminated the 10th of September, 954.

¹³ Ordericus Vitalis omits the fifteen popes who filled the see of Rome between Stephen VI. and Marinus II. (897—942). Instead of Octavian read John XII. The tiara was contested between Leo VIII. and Benedict V. The crowning of Otho the Younger by John XIII. took place on Christmas day, 967. There should be inserted in the text between Benedict VI. and Benedict VII., Donus II., who filled the papacy for some months in 976; after Benedict VII., John XIV., John XV., John XVI., and Gregory V.; after Silvester II., John XVII., John XVIII., and Sergius IV.; and after Benedict VIII., John XIX., Benedict IX., and Gregory VI.

filled the see nine years, and crowned the emperor Henry and his empress Agnes.¹

DAMASUS, formerly bishop of Aquileia, sat one year.² LEO, a Lorrainer, sat five years. Under the name of Bruno he was bishop of Toul. When pope he came into Gaul and held a great council at Rheims. He restored to vigour many ancient decrees of the holy fathers which had fallen into disuse, and made many useful reforms both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs.³

GEBEHARD VICTOR filled the see three years.⁴

FREDERICK STEPHEN, son of Duke Gothelon, sat one year.⁵

GERARD NICHOLAS, the first pope of the French nation, sat two years.⁶

ALEXANDER of Lucca filled the see eleven years.⁷

GREGORY HILDEBRAND, a monk from his childhood, filled the see fourteen years. In his time the emperor Henry expelled the pope, and, intruding Guitberg, bishop of Ravenna, into the apostolical see, caused great disturbances in the church of Rome.⁸

DESIDERIUS VICTOR, who was abbot of Monte-Casino, filled the see eleven months.⁹

URBAN ODO, who had been a monk of Cluni, and bishop of Ostia, sat twelve years. He it was who stirred up the armies of Christendom to march to Jerusalem against the infidels.¹⁰

¹ Clement II. (previously bishop of Bamberg), December 25, 1046—October 9, 1047. He crowned Henry III. and his queen Agnes, on the very day of his own installation.

² Damasus, July 16—August 8, 1048. This pope was not previously patriarch of Aquileia, but bishop of Brixen.

³ February 12, 1048—April 19, 1054. As to this pope, see book i. p. 151.

⁴ March 13, 1055—July 28, 1057.

⁵ Stephen IX., August 2, 1057—March 29, 1058.

⁶ Nicholas II., December 28, 1058—January 18, 1059—July 21 or 22, 1061. Ordericus, when he describes this pope as the first Frenchman who filled the holy see, forgot Silvester II. (Gerbert), who was a native of Auvergne.

⁷ Alexander II., bishop of Lucca, September 30, 1061—April 21, 1073.

⁸ Gregory VII., April 22—June 30, 1073—May 25, 1085. Gilbert, archbishop of Vienna, was elected by an assembly at Brixen, the 23rd of June, 1080, and died in 1100, after an intrusion of twenty years.

⁹ Victor III., May 24, 1086—September 16, 1087.

¹⁰ Urban II., March 11, 1088—July 29, 1099. The date of the council

PASCAL REINER, a native of the valley of the Brutians, a monk, sat twelve years.¹

GELASIUS JOHN, born at Gaieta, sat two years.²

CALIXTUS GUY, son of William, duke of Burgundy, who was archbishop of Vienna, filled the see six years.³

HONORIUS LAMBERT, who was bishop of Ostia, sat five years.⁴

INNOCENT GEORGE, of the family of the Papii, has filled the see twelve years. He held a great council at Rome in the ninth year of his papacy, at which many affairs were determined, although there are but scanty records of its proceedings.⁵

of Clermont, where the first crusade was preached, is given before, book i. p. 154. The crusaders formed a junction at Nice the 14th of May, 1097, and laying siege to Jerusalem on the 7th of June, took it by assault on Friday, the 15th of July, in the same year.

¹ Pascal II., a native of Bleda, August 13, 1099—January, 1118.

² Gelasius II., born at Gaieta, and not, as our author describes him, at Cadiz, *Gaditanus*, January 25, 1118—January 19, 1119.

³ Callistus II., February 1, 1119—December 12, 1124. He was the son of William, earl of Boulogne, and filled the archiepiscopal see of Vienna at the time he was elevated to the papacy.

⁴ Honorius II., December 21, 1124—February 14, 1130.

⁵ Innocent II., February 15, 1130—September 23, 1143. Ordericus calls him *Papiensis*; but he was not a native of Pavia, as he is described more expressly towards the close of book i., but belonged to the family of the Papii. The council here mentioned was the second Lateran (the tenth general council), which met on the 8th of April, 1139, and was attended by nearly a thousand bishops.

The mention of twelve years having elapsed since the election of Innocent II., proves that this passage was written in the year 1142, and consequently some time before the last paragraph but one in the first book.

BOOK III.¹

THE PREFACE.

It is our duty to devote ourselves unceasingly to the Creator's praise in all his works, although his majesty and might are beyond our powers of comprehension, and we are quite incapable of speaking in fitting terms of his ineffable loftiness and unwearied lovingkindness. These are exhibited in every page of the Old and New Testament; these are the subjects of the study and meditations of every wise man. But who can penetrate the mystery of the immensity of God? The knowledge of the love of Christ is above the skill of man, while to search it out and embrace it, and use our utmost efforts in pursuing it, is both our proper task and fraught with the fulness of everlasting salvation. For this, holy men whose worth is recorded in authentic writings, now associated with the angels, triumph in the heavens; having despised transitory things and courted eternal realities, and abhorred carnal delights, that they might enter upon the blessed fruition of those that are spiritual. Following their Saviour's footsteps through the difficult path of a holy life, they have left us a salutary example, by imitating which we also may reach by the way of righteousness the heavenly inheritance; an enterprise rendered so difficult to our sloth and weakness by the burden of our sins. Still it is our duty to struggle faithfully in their steps and follow the course they have pursued, that participating in their merits, we may, by God's mercy, be one day found worthy to share the joys of their blessed society.

In the former part of my work, I have had the satisfac-

¹ The title prefixed by our author to this book in his own MS. of St. Evroult, is BOOK III. OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ORDERICUS VITALIS, THE ENGLISHMAN. In Duchesne's edition, the words SECOND PART are added, with the following enumeration of the contents: *Containing a clear account of the Norman wars in France, England, and Apulia; of the foundation of monasteries; and a nearly complete series of the bishops and abbots of Normandy, with many other important matters in the time of Duke William II., surnamed the Bastard.*

tion of giving an account of some of these friends of God, and masters and rulers of his people, to meditate on whose lives, or to speak of them faithfully is an agreeable exercise for the soul, and a salutary remedy for her inward disorders. Now, however, my superiors have set me another task, and an ample field opens before me in the history of the Normans, who issuing from Denmark¹ were addicted not to letters but to arms, and who, until the time of William the Bastard, were more given to fighting than to reading or writing.

Dudo, dean of St. Quentin, has related with eloquence the wars of the first three dukes, of whose actions his work is a copious and poetical panegyric.² It was dedicated to Richard, the son of Gonor, whose good graces the author wished to secure. This work was neatly abridged by William, surnamed Calculus, a monk of Jumiègue, who

¹ *Dacia*. At the time our author wrote, and, indeed, long afterwards, Denmark was confounded with Dacia; the Danes called *Daci*, and the Norwegians, *Norici*. We may also observe, that the Normans as well as the Anglo-Saxon writers made no distinction between the tribes of the Northmen who came from Denmark, and the Norwegians. They are for the most part indiscriminately called Danes; Denmark having been more known, lying nearer to the eastern coast of England, and consequently supplying, at one time at least, the great body of the adventurers. It need hardly be remarked that both these people were derived from a common stock. Rollo, we know, came from Norway. Tradition still points out the coves where his gallies were fitted out, near Aalesund, on a small island at the mouth of the Romsdal's Fjord.

² The word panegyric is justly applied. The work of Dudo de St. Quentin: *Dudonis super congregationem S. Quintini decani de moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ Ducum libri iii.*, published in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, is, in truth, much less a history, properly so called, than a verbose, rhetorical, and often false panegyric of the first three dukes of Normandy. Though the author had great opportunities for collecting and describing faithfully the events of the times, as he lived at the courts of Richard I. and Richard II., he has in most cases either omitted, altered, or falsified the facts, and replaced them sometimes by the exaggerations of the grossest flattery, and at others by accounts taken hap-hazard from the lives of persons who lived in earlier times, or from traditions altogether fabulous. The consequence is, that instead of throwing light on the annals of the first age of Norman history, he has only made the darkness in which they are involved more visible. The three dukes of Normandy, whose history was written by Dudo, are Rollo, William I., surnamed *Longue-Épée*, and Richard I., surnamed *Sans-Peur*.

flourished somewhat later, and added a short but perspicuous account of the four succeeding dukes.¹

¹ This historian is vastly superior to Dudo de St. Quentin, but still he has committed the error of copying and adopting the, more or less, monstrous fables of his predecessor, and his work has had the misfortune of being disfigured by a continuation, the author of which has so interpolated it, and made so many injudicious additions, as to have essentially altered its character. William de Jumièges wrote the histories of Richard II., Richard III., Robert I., and William II., called at first the Bastard, and afterwards the Conqueror. It appears from what Ordericus Vitalis here says, that the eighth book of William de Jumièges in our editions was not written by him, as it gives the history of Henry I., eighth, or rather ninth duke of Normandy. In point of fact, he died in 1090, and his work, as it now stands, extends far beyond that year.

BOOK III.

CH. I. *Foundation of monasteries in Normandy—they are ravaged by the Danes—restored by Rollo and succeeding dukes—others founded—series of the dukes to William the Bastard.*

I COMMENCE my present undertaking with speaking of that vine of the Lord of hosts which he himself plants,¹ and preserves throughout the world against the devices of Behemoth. The shoots of this vine were freely propagated by the labours of the Lord's husbandmen in the country formerly called Neustria, but now Normandy,² producing abundant fruit in men devoted to a holy life. These faithful labourers founded in that province many monasteries where the true branches of the vine, that is good Christians, planted themselves in common accord, in order to struggle more safely to the end against the wiles of their spiritual enemies.

The blessed bishop Ouen, who flourished in the time of Dagobert king of the Franks and his son Clovis, and was of distinguished worth both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, founded a convent for nuns at Fécamp, and another for monks in the city of Rouen, where he was himself buried in the year of our Lord 678, and his remains lay undisturbed for one hundred and sixty-five years, until Rouen was ravaged by the Northmen.³

¹ The metaphor of our Lord's vine, so frequently used in the holy scriptures and the writings of the fathers, seems to have been a favourite with our author. He had already made use of it in the commencement of his first book.

² It was a common error to consider Neustria as synonymous with Normandy; it included not only Normandy, but all the territory between the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Loire, and the sea. More lately, indeed, the name was no longer given to the country between the Seine and the Loire, and from this era may be dated the improper application of the term to describe exclusively sometimes Brittany, sometimes Normandy.

³ St. Ouen, who died, not in 678, but in 683, cannot be considered the actual founder of the convent for nuns at Fécamp, which was commenced by his contemporary, St. Waninge, in 658. Still less did he erect that of St. Peter at Rouen, which took his name when his remains were translated there, but which dates its foundation as far back as the reign of Clotaire I.

In the time of this bishop, St. Wandrille collected a numerous society of monks at Fontenelles, and the blessed Philibert, the brave standard-bearer of this noble army, shed lustre on Jumièges.¹

In earlier times, also, when Hilperic, and Childebert his nephew, governed the Franks, and protected the innocent against evil-doers by their royal authority, Evroult, a native of Bayeux, guided by the instructions of an angel, founded a monastery in the forest of Ouche.² He thus effected the reformation of the rude natives who before lived by plunder and robbery, attracting them to a better course of life by the doctrines he taught them and the miracles he exhibited. In other places also the Lord propagated his vine by the labours of faithful husbandmen, abundantly filling the hearts of the Gauls with the sweetness of his salvation.

The kingdom of the Franks having been, by God's favour, highly exalted above the neighbouring nations, and widely extended by the frequent triumphs of the Frank kings, Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Pious,³ avarice, pride, and lust, began to prevail excessively among all ranks of men, from the highest to the lowest, plunging them into the depths of iniquity, and causing them to rebel against the Author of their salvation, whose commandments they no longer obeyed. Both the clergy and laity of every degree, infected with these disorders, fell from their former virtue, and yielding to the seductions of the world, the discipline for which they were once remarkable, became enervated and extinct. Still the divine compassion long spared the guilty, calling them to repentance in various ways. The penitent mercifully snatched from the snares of iniquity obtained

One hundred and fifty-eight, not one hundred and sixty-five years, elapsed between the translation of St. Ouen's remains to Rouen and the ruin of the abbey by the Northmen in 841.

¹ The abbey of Fontenelle, now St. Wandrille, was founded in 648, and that of Jumièges in 654.

² St. Evroult, a native of Bayeux, retired with three companions to the vast solitudes of the forest of Ouche in 560.

³ The emperor Lewis, called *Pius* by the Romans, *Le Debonaire* by the French. The laxity of manners, and of ecclesiastical discipline, which our author attributes to this age, began long before, at least as far back as the usurpation of the property and dignities of the church by laics in the time of Charles Martel.

pardon, while those who perished in their evil courses incurred the infliction of the scourge of the divine anger.

In the time of Charles, king of the Franks, surnamed the Simple, Biorn, also called Iron-sides, son of Lodbroc, king of the Danes, accompanied by Hasting, his tutor, and a numerous band of young warriors, issued from their homes like a sword from the scabbard, for the destruction of the nations. Suddenly sweeping over the shores of France, like a whirlwind rising from the sea, and reducing to ashes towns, cities, and holy minsters, for thirty years the invaders and their confederates harassed the Christians with continual inroads.¹ Then Rouen and Noyon, Tours and Poitiers, and other principal cities, were burnt,² the defenceless inhabitants were butchered, the monks and clergy were scattered, and the relics of the saints were either left unhonoured in their tombs within the ruined churches, or were transported by their pious worshippers to desolate places.

But, in the dispensations of Providence, the same race which inflicted desolation on Neustria, became not long afterwards the means of her restoration. About thirty years after the ravages of Hastings,³ Duke Rollo, at the head of a powerful band of Danish youths, invaded Neustria, and strove by ceaseless attacks to exterminate the Franks. In a pitched battle he slew their standard-bearer Roland, and

¹ The whole of this paragraph, borrowed by Ordericus from preceding writers, is a tissue of misrepresentations, which contemporary writers enable us to correct. Biorn I., king of Upsala, surnamed *Jarnsida* (Ironsides), appears to have lived about the end of the eighth century, or beginning of the ninth, and he never set foot in France. Hasting, whose invasions and ravages are singularly exaggerated, according to authentic accounts did not make his appearance in the valley of the Loire and in Brittany till 867, and again in 869 and 882; afterwards, in that of the Somme, in 890.

² Rouen was first ravaged the 14th of June, 841, Tours in 853, and Noyon in 859. As for Poitiers, it was first attacked in 855, but making a vigorous defence, it did not fall into the hands of the Northmen till 863.

³ According to the Saxon Chronicle, followed by Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester, Rollo landed in Normandy in A.D. 876. Our author, who has placed the invasions of Hastings under the reign of Charles the Simple, here makes his first expedition in France to have been in 847 or 848, forgetting that he had before told us that Rouen was first attacked by the Northmen a hundred and sixty-five years after the year 678, and consequently in 843, which of all his calculations is that nearest the truth.

defeated Reginald duke of Orleans with the army of the Franks. He besieged the city of Paris for four years, but, God defending it, was unable to reduce it. Baieux he took by storm, putting to the sword its count Berenger, whose daughter Poppa he married, and had by her a son called William *Longue-épée*.⁴ In this and innumerable other conflicts he crushed the Franks, and laid waste almost the whole kingdom, as far as Burgundy, with fire and sword. The Franks being unable to resist these attacks, and uniting in their supplications for peace, King Charles gave his daughter Gisela in marriage to Rollo, and ceded to him in perpetuity the entire country from the river Epte to the ocean.³

In consequence, Rollo was baptized by the lord Francon, Archbishop of Rouen, in the year of our Lord 912, and casting away the idols which he before worshipped, with all his army devoutly embraced Christianity. He died five years after his baptism.⁴ William, his son, who suc-

¹ Roland seems to have been a supposititious character, invented by the Norman historians; and the person they call Duke of Orleans was a duke of Maine, killed under the walls of Rouen in 885. Rollo, who is not mentioned in any authentic account till 911, was not present at this battle, nor at the siege of Paris. All that concerns his taking Baieux, including Count Berenger and his daughter Poppa, is still the subject of controversy.

² The French editors of Ordericus Vitalis consider that all these expeditions of Rollo, as well as his marriage with Gisela, are but attributions to that chief of misrepresentations of anterior occurrences.

³ It certainly appears from a charter of Richard I. to the abbey of St. Denys, that his grandfather Rollo took the name of Robert. This is the only authentic proof we have of his baptism, and there is reason to doubt his having been so faithful and zealous a Christian as our author supposes. It appears, however, that he did make donations or restitutions to several churches, and particularly to those of St. Denys in France and Rouen in Normandy.

The French editors of Ordericus consider that Dudo made a great mistake in fixing the death of Rollo five years after his baptism, namely, in 917, an account, they say, implicitly copied by all the authors of the middle ages. Our Saxon Chronicle says, under the year 876, when it first mentions, and for the only time, Rollo's invasion of Norway, "And he reigned fifty winters," which would agree with our author's calculation—917. M. Le Prévost, however, says that several MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle (one as old as 1001) place Rollo's death fifteen years after his baptism, namely, in 927. M. Deville quotes a passage from Frodoard, which speaks of Rollo retaining the son of Odo as an hostage, to prove that the Norman duke was alive in 928; but M. Le Prévost refers to another

ceeded him in the duchy of Normandy and held it twenty-five years, restored to its former condition the monastery of Jumièges, which Philibert had founded, but which had been laid in ruins by Hasting.

In the year of our Lord 942, when Lewis was king of the Franks, Duke William was murdered by the treachery of Arnulph governor of Flanders; and Richard his son, then a boy of twelve years of age, became duke of Normandy, and through various turns of fortune, some prosperous and some adverse, held the dukedom fifty-four years. Among his other good deeds, he founded three monasteries, one at Fécamp, dedicated to the Holy Trinity,¹ another at Mont St. Michel in honour of St. Michael the archangel, and the third at Rouen in honour of St. Peter the apostle, and St. Ouen the archbishop.

In the year of our Lord 996, on the death of Richard the elder, he was succeeded by Richard Gonorrides his son,² who piously governed the duchy of Normandy thirty years. He rebuilt the abbey of Fontenelles which St. Wandrille had founded and Hasting had ruined; and Judith his wife, sister of Geoffrey earl of Brittany, founded a monastery at Bernai in honour of St. Mary, mother of God.

On the death of Richard Gonnorides, his young son Richard succeeded, but he held the dukedom not quite a year and a half.³ Then it fell to his brother Robert, who

passage from the same historian, in which he mentions a treaty concluded between William Longue-épée with Charles the Simple at Eu, in 927, to establish the fact that Rollo was then dead, or otherwise his son would not have been the party to that treaty. M. Le Prévost also adduces the testimony of the monk Richer, to prove that Rollo was slain in 925, when defending Eu against the Franks under the command of King Rodolph.

¹ Richard I. founded a college of canons at Fécamp, the church of which was dedicated in 990, but they were not replaced by monks till after the year 1101, at which time also the abbey of St. Ouen was restored, and therefore under Richard's successor.

² Gonnor was second wife of Richard I. For the singular occurrences which introduced this lady into the ducal family, see the continuator of William de Jumièges, book viii. c. 36.

³ All this part of the chronology of Normandy is surrounded with difficulties. The following are the probable results of a careful examination by the French editors: Richard II. (Gonnorides) died A.D. 1027; Richard III. is supposed to have taken the administration of affairs in 1026, during the life of his father, who passed the last months of his life in the abbey of Fécamp, and to have died in 1028. The same uncertainty attends the date of Richard III.'s death; it appears that he died before the 12th of

held it with great honour seven years and a half, and following the example of his ancestors, laid the foundations of the abbey of Cerisi. Moved however with the fear of God, he relinquished his worldly honours and undertook a voluntary pilgrimage to the tomb of our Lord at Jerusalem, and died as he was returning home at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year of Christ 1035.

William his son, who was then only eight years old, was invested in the duchy of Normandy, which he governed firmly fifty-three years, notwithstanding the machinations of his jealous enemies. He devoted himself to follow the example of his ancestors in all that related to the worship of God, and by his favour surpassed them all in wealth and power. He founded two monasteries at Caen; one for monks in honour of St. Stephen the first martyr, and the other for nuns in honour of the Holy Trinity.

The barons of Normandy, moved by the zeal for holy religion which they observed in their princes, were eager to imitate them, and animated themselves and their friends to similar undertakings for the good of their souls. They vied with each other in taking the lead in such good works, and in the liberality with which they made ample endowments. The most powerful nobles held themselves cheap if they had not on their domains some establishment of monks or clergy provided by them with whatever was necessary for the service of God.

Thus Roger de Toni founded the abbey of Châtillon, otherwise called Conches,¹ where Abbot Gislebert, a man of great worth and wisdom, rose to eminence. Goscelin d'Arques was the founder of a monastery, outside the walls of Rouen on the mount of the Holy Trinity, commonly called St. Catherine's,² which the venerable abbot Isambert governed with much prudence and piety. William, count d'Eu, at the instance of Lesceline his pious wife, caused the abbey of St. Mary to be built on the river Dive,³ the disci-

November, 1028, and the probability is that both he and his father died in the month of August of that year. From July, 1035, to September 9, 1087, the time of William the Conqueror's death, the fifty-third year was not completed, but only commenced.

¹ This abbey of Conches, called originally Châtillon, from the territory on which it was built near the town of Conches, was founded in 1035.

² Founded A.D. 1030.

³ It was Lesceline herself who founded the abbey of St. Peter sur Dive,

pline of which was long maintained by Ainart, a German of great holiness and extensive learning.

In the time of Duke Robert I., Gislebert, count of Brionne, made an inroad with three thousand armed followers into the district of Vimeux, but it did not turn out as prosperously as he expected; for Ingelran, count of Ponthieu opposed him with a strong body of troops, and, giving him battle, vanquished and put to flight all his force, taking some of the fugitives prisoners and killing or wounding others. In this extremity a knight named Herluin, being in peril of his life, and using every effort to save himself by flight, made a vow that if he escaped safely from this imminent danger, he would never again devote himself to any other service than that of God. Being delivered in honour, by God's help, from the fate which threatened him, the knight, mindful of his vow, retired from the world and founded an abbey on his estate, at a place called Bec, which he dedicated to St. Mary, mother of God.¹ The clergy of God's holy church then elected this noble and pious man to be the first abbot of the new monastery he had built. While it was under his rule Lanfranc, Anslem, and other profound philosophers, resorted there to the Christian schools;² and there William Fitz-Giroie, and Hugh count of Mellent, and other illustrious knights, enlisted themselves in the army of Christ. There, up to the present time, numbers both of clerks and layman live under the monastic rule, and fighting against the devil, laudably devote themselves to God's service.

Humphrey de Vieilles, son of Thuroid, began to erect two monasteries, one for monks and the other for nuns, at Préaux, which his son Roger de Beaumont kindly fostered, endowing them liberally from his own revenues.³ William

A.D. 1078. It did not stand in the town of Dive, a small seaport at the mouth of the river of that name, but on its banks, some leagues inland.

¹ The precise date of this inroad into the Vimeux is not known, but Ingelran, count of Ponthieu, who made so brave a resistance, was living in 1043. The invasion must have taken place before 1034, which is the date assigned to the foundation of the abbey of Bec.

² The celebrated school at Bec was founded by Lanfranc in 1046. We shall hear more of this abbey and its inmates in the sequel.

³ The abbey for monks called St. Pierre de Préaux, near Pont-Audemer, was founded shortly before the departure of Robert I. for the Holy Land in 1035, and that for nuns, dedicated to St. Leger, shortly afterwards.

Fitz-Osborne also founded two monasteries on his own domain, one at Lire, and the other at Cormeilles, where he himself lies buried.¹ Many other Norman nobles, also, according to their means, constructed houses for monks or nuns in various quarters. Hugh de Grand-mesnil and Robert, having their zeal roused by such examples, made a vow to build a monastery on their hereditary estates, for the good of their own souls and the souls of their ancestors.

CH. II. *The abbey of St. Evroult—Notices of its founders and benefactors, and other Norman lords—Particulars of its endowments.*

It was determined by Hugh and Robert that the monastery should be erected at Norrei,² a vill belonging to them near Grand-mesnil; and the work was already in progress, when a report was carried to William Fitz-Giroie their uncle, that his nephews, Hugh and Robert, had commenced building a convent. This knight had been a man of great eminence in that age, terrible to his enemies, faithful to his friends. He was at the head of a powerful family, including sons, brothers, and numerous nephews, who were formidable to their foes, far and near. This knight, being invited by William Talvas, son of William Belesme, to his nuptials, and unsuspectingly accepting the invitation, was, without any cause of accusation cruelly deprived of his eyes and his genitals, and the tips of his ears cut off. So odious a crime rendered Talvas universally detested, and some time afterwards he was stript of his honours by his own son Arnulf.

William Giroie was all his life devoted to holy church, and held the monks, and clergy, and other men of religion in high honour. Twice he made pilgrimages to the tomb of our Lord at Jerusalem;³ once when he was in the full

¹ William Fitz-Osborne founded the monastery of Cormeilles about the year 1060, and that of Lire as early as 1046. We shall presently find this powerful nobleman playing a distinguished part in the conquest of England and succeeding events.

² Norrei is situated between Grand-mesnil and Falaise. The foundations of the castle of the ancient lords of Grand-mesnil may yet be traced. Robert, the father of this Hugh and Robert, lost his life in the same battle in which Roger de Toni, founder of the abbey of Conches, fell.

³ It will appear in the course of this history, that pilgrimages to the Holy Land were as frequent among the Normans in the eleventh century, as those to Rome were among the Anglo-Saxons in the eighth.

enjoyment of health and prosperity, and a second time when he had suffered the outrage which we have just mentioned. On his return from this second pilgrimage he determined on quitting the world, and going to Bec, there assumed the monastic habit, and piously granted the church of Ouche to that abbey. Upon this, abbot Herluin sent Lanfranc, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, with three other monks to Ouche, causing them to re-establish there the divine worship which had fallen into disuse. Mantling ivy overspread the mouldering walls of the church, and the place was deserted, except by two aged monks, Restould and Ingran, who maintained the service of God in deep poverty, but to the best of their power, in the desolate wilderness.

Some time afterwards, when William Giroie was informed of his nephews' vow to build a monastery, he sought them out and thus addressed them: "It causes me great joy, my dear sons, to find that Almighty God has vouchsafed to inspire you with the design of building a house in his name. But you must be sensible that the spot on which you have begun to build is not suited for a habitation of monks, because it wants water, and the forest is at too great a distance.¹ It is quite certain that these two elements are absolutely necessary to the subsistence of a convent. Now, if you will take my advice, I will point out to you a more convenient site. The place is in the canton of Ouche, where there formerly dwelt a holy abbot, the friend of God, whose name was Evroult, who assembled there a large body of monks, and after performing many miracles died happily in the Lord. Restore that monastery which was ruined by the pagans. You will find there abundance of water, and I possess a forest close by which will enable me to supply the convent with whatever is necessary. Come then and see this spot, and if it pleases you, let us join in building there a house of God, and place in it a company of faithful men who shall offer continual prayers on our behalf; and we will endow it from our domains with such secure

¹ It was almost indispensable in those times that the monasteries should be established near the verge of extensive forests for two reasons; first, on account of having an abundant supply of fuel, and, secondly, for the pasturage of their large herds of swine.

revenues that they may devote themselves altogether to the worship of God."

Upon hearing this, his nephews Hugh and Robert thanked him for his proposal, and they all proceeded together to survey the spot he had pointed out. On their coming there, a book containing the life of the holy father Evroult was presented to Robert, which he carefully perused and explained with intelligence to Hugh and the rest of his companions. Need I say more? The situation of Ouche pleased the two brothers; but as it had been formerly granted to the abbey of Bec, and certain monks from that convent were already stationed there, as before mentioned, the brothers made over to the abbot and monks of Bec a vill called La Roussière,¹ securing in exchange the fee of the land at Ouche.

In the year of our Lord 1050, the plan of restoring the abbey of Ouche being thus determined on, William and Robert, the sons of Giroie, with Hugh and Robert, the sons of Robert Grand-Mesnil, applied to William duke of Normandy, and informing him of their intentions entreated the assistance of his paramount authority in the good work they had undertaken. They likewise made over the place so often mentioned to his guardianship, on a tenure so free that neither they nor any other persons whosoever should claim from the monks or their people either rent or customary dues, or anything else except the benefit of their prayers. The duke, very willingly acceding to their wishes, ratified the charter of the possessions which his nobles granted to St. Evroult, and caused it to be confirmed by the signatures of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, and his suffragan bishops.

Hugh and Robert, having the duke's licence to choose an abbot, then proceeded to Jumièges, and besought the lord Robert, who was then superior of that abbey, to allow the monk Theodoric to take the government of their new abbey; and abbot Robert, readily complying with the request of his noble guests, yielded to them the monk whom he well knew to be well qualified for such a pastoral care. Hugh and

¹ This is still the name of a commune in the arrondissement of Bernai, between Broglie, Montreuil, and La Barre. Its church continued to belong to the abbey of Bec till the revolution.

Robert now, with great satisfaction, presented him to the duke, who receiving him with due distinction, delivered to him the pastoral staff, as the custom was, thus giving him the preferment of the abbey of Ouche. Afterwards Hugh, bishop of Lisieux,¹ with Osbern his archdeacon, and others of his clergy, came to Ouche with the venerable monk Theodoric in their company, and there solemnly consecrated him on the 3rd of the nones [5th] of October, being the Lord's day. Thus ordained, he betrayed no pride or arrogance, but both by his words and works pointed out the way of true religion to those over whom he was set. Brought up from his childhood in the Lord's house he had learnt by long practice the regular course of a religious life. He was constant in holy prayers, in vigils, in fasting. He so exposed himself to the rigour of the cold, that he sometimes went without a cloak the whole winter. However, one day when he was preparing, as he was wont, to offer the sacrifice of the mass, he perceived a cloak of dazzling whiteness laid on the altar. Not doubting that it was placed there by no human hands but by the ministry of angels, he returned thanks to God, and investing himself with it joyfully performed the divine service. That this happened in the church of Jumièges, while he was yet a cloistered monk, I have heard from trustworthy monks who then belonged to that monastery. He was baptized by the venerable Theodoric abbot of Jumièges,² who caused him to be educated according to the monastic rule in the school of Christ and loved him much. Arriving at man's estate and being proved fruitful in good works, the abbot appointed him his vicar, to the great gain of the brethren's souls; and he was afterwards made master of the novices, and charged with the care of the monastery as prior. At length, as we have before related, he was translated from Jumièges in the time of abbot Robert, and placed at the head of the new abbey of Ouche, in the year of our Lord 1050, the fourth indiction, being the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry

¹ Hugh, who was bishop of Lisieux from 1049 to 1077, was son of William Count d'Eu, and Lesceline, foundress of the abbey of St. Pierre-sur-Dive.

² He was a native of Dijon, and abbot of Jumièges from A.D. 1014 to 1027 or 1028.

king of the Franks, and the fifteenth of the dukedom of William duke of Normandy.

In founding the new society, Theodoric had the assistance of his nephew Rodolph, with Hugh the chanter, and others of the brethren who suited his purpose. It was with them and by them that the new abbot zealously established a regular system, and mild discipline, and becoming order, in divine worship. He admitted as probationers for a change of life applicants of every age and rank, diligently instructing them in the rule of the holy father St. Benedict. Among the first of those he humbly taught a stricter life in the school of Christ, were Humfrey, Reginald, and Fulk, son of the dean Fulk, with some other skilful grammarians. He likewise treated with the greatest kindness Riculf, an old man, and Roger, both country priests, and Durand the gardener, with Geoffrey, Olric, and other simple disciples. As these were unable to comprehend the depths of scripture doctrine, he fed them with the milk of pious exhortation, and imparted to them health and strength in their faith and devotion by the example of his holy life. In that house of God, also, Herbert and Berenger, Joscelin and Rodolf, Gislebert and Bernard, Richard and William, with other youths of good natural disposition, were carefully instructed in reading, singing, and writing, and the diligent prosecution of other useful studies, suitable to the servants of God seeking to acquire the true knowledge. Meanwhile, the rude natives, witnessing the growth of so much holiness on a barren soil, now long deserted, were struck with admiration. This was the salvation of some, the ruin of others. Those who remarked the good conversation of the monks imitated their example; while others, becoming jealous of them, caused them all sorts of inconveniences: both received their just reward from God, who doeth equal justice. Nobles and men of the middle order flocked to the abbey under a divine impulse, commending themselves devoutly to the prayers of the servants of God, and, offering their alms, gave blessings to God, who provided sustenance for his ministers, though on a barren soil.

The abbey of Ouche, thus flourishing through the merits of the holy father St. Evroult, and continually increasing, to the glory of God, by the care and labours of the family of Geroie,

Roger de Montgomery,¹ Viscount d'Exmes, began to be jealous of his neighbours, because they showed more zeal for the love of God than himself, and he bethought him what work he could undertake of a like nature for the good of his own soul. He therefore resolved on attaching to himself Gislebert, abbot of Châtillon, with his monks, who had begun to establish themselves at Norrei; but, on Hugh and Robert's altering their plans, as before mentioned, refused to follow them, nay, more, left them altogether, accusing them of fickleness, for having changed the site of their intended monastery. Roger de Montgomery, therefore, invited these monks, and granted Troarn to them, that they might there erect an abbey, expelling the twelve canons who had been placed there by his father.² These secular clergy being thus ejected because they abandoned themselves to gluttony, debauchery, carnal delights, and worldly occupations, he settled in their place monks who were subject to regular discipline. In short, under the government of father Gislebert, the monks established a strict religious rule in the church of St. Martin at Troarn, the maintenance of which they committed to their successors to the time of their death, and which has been preserved to this day under the enlightened fathers Gerbert, Durand, and Arnulf successively.

I wish now to take some short notice of Giroie, son of Arnold-le-Gros, of Courceraut,³ son of Abbo the Breton, whose family conferred many benefits on the monks of St. Evroult, in order that posterity may know who and what he was. He derived his origin from nobles of the highest rank, both of France and Brittany, and distinguished himself by his virtues and courage in the reigns of Hugh the Great

¹ Roger II. de Montgomery, who by his marriage with Mabel, daughter of William Talvas, inherited the vast domains of that family. He was afterwards one of the most distinguished followers of William duke of Normandy and conqueror of England, by whom he was created earl of Shrewsbury. There are frequent notices of this great nobleman in the course of the present history, the more so, perhaps, as Odelirius, our author's father, attended him to England, and became his trusty counsellor, being probably born in the earl's household.

² In 1050 Roger de Montgomery substituted monks for the canons who had been settled at Troarn since the year 1022.

³ Courceraut, near Mortagne, in the department of Orne.

and Robert, kings of the Franks. His sister Hildiarde had three sons and eleven daughters, who, being married to honourable men, gave birth to numerous sons, who, in the next generation, became formidable to their enemies in the wars in France, England, and Apulia. Among the other gallant exploits of Giroie, was his battle, in concert with William of Belesme, against Herbert, count of Maine. William and his followers were vanquished and put to flight; but Giroie stood firm, and bore the brunt of the conflict, until Herbert and his troops were forced to retreat, and Giroie gained a victory, which, to this day, commands the applause of all who are informed of it. Heugon,¹ a powerful Norman knight, offered him his only daughter in marriage, and gave him Montreuil and Echaufour, and all his lands adjoining these two places. Heugon dying soon afterwards, Giroie succeeded to all his domains, although the lady to whom he was betrothed died prematurely before the marriage. In consequence, William de Belesme² introduced Giroie to Richard the duke of Normandy at Rouen; and the generous duke, in acknowledgment of his high deserts, granted all the lands of Heugon to him and his heirs for ever. On his return, Giroie married Gisela, a daughter of Turstin de Bastembourg, by whom he had seven sons and four daughters, whose names are as follows: Arnold, William, Fulk, Ralphmal-Corona, Robert, Hugh, and Giroie; Heremburge, Hawise, Emma, and Adelaide.

Possessing richly all that this world can give, children, riches, and ample domains, the brave knight so often mentioned faithfully served the Giver of all good things, and revered his church, and servants, and worship. From his own funds he erected six churches to God's honour, two of which were at Verneuces, one dedicated to St. Mary, mother of God, and the other to St. Paul, doctor of the gentiles. The third, in a vill called Glos, in the canton of Lisieux, was dedicated to St. Peter, prince of the apostles; the fourth at Echaufour, to St. Andrew the apostle; the

¹ The commune of Heugon derives its present name from this baron, being situate between his two principal domains, Montreuil l'Argillier and Echaufour.

² William I. de Belesme was the father of William Talvas. The battle mentioned just before was fought about the year 1020.

fifth, which he built at Montreuil, to St. George the martyr; and the sixth at Hautrive, to St. Martin the confessor. With such saints as his patrons, this brave knight lived long in honour in this world, and, dying, obtained, as we trust, by the merits of their intercessions, the pardon of his sins and everlasting rest in the society of the blessed.

At the death of Giroie, his sons were of tender years, except two, Arnold and William, who had received knight-hood under these circumstances: Gislebert, count of Brionne, relying on his valour, and coveting an extension of his boundaries, invaded the territories of the young heirs with a formidable band, endeavouring to wrest Montreuil from them by force of arms. However, they collected a body of their kinsmen and retainers, and, boldly offering battle to Gislebert in the open fields, defeated him with much slaughter, and put him to flight, not long afterwards forcibly seizing, by way of revenge, the burgh called Sap.¹ Meanwhile, Duke Robert interfered, and compassionating the orphans, while he praised their bravery, he induced Gislebert to cede Sap to them, that the peace might be lasting. In the end, that same count, giving uneasiness to the seven sons of Giroie, and attempting to recover the burgh of Sap, which he had given up to them at the instance of Duke Robert, met his death through their boldness and courage, although he was attended by a large body of men.²

All these brothers were brave and generous, skilled and active in warlike exercises, formidable to their enemies, gentle and courteous to their associates. They prospered in various ways; but, notwithstanding, such is human life, they fell to decay at last. It would be too long and impossible for me to relate distinctly the acts of all the brothers; but I am desirous, at least to leave something on record for pos-

¹ Sap is a village near Montreuil and St. Evroult.

² It has been already remarked that the circumstances which caused the death of Gislebert, count of Brionne, were far from honourable to his memory. It appears that on two occasions he took advantage of the youth and weakness of Giroie's sons, to endeavour to wrest from them one of the best of their patrimonial domains. At the same time the details of his death, which did not take place till after the succession of Duke William, are also discreditable to the family of Giroie, two of whom, as William de Jumièges tells us, set upon him, and cruelly murdered him, when he was peaceably riding near Echaufré, expecting no evil. *Hist. Norman.* vii. 2.

terity as to the end of each. Arnold, the eldest, a brave and honourable man, while one day amusing himself with sports at Montreuil, in wrestling with a powerful young man, fell against the sharp angle of a bank, and breaking three of his ribs, died on the third day afterwards. William, the second in order of birth, lived for many years, and all his life governed his brothers; for he was eloquent and gay, liberal and brave, beloved by his inferiors, and the terror of his enemies. None of his neighbours ventured to make inroads on his territories in any shape, nor to subject his people to any kind of exactions. He exercised episcopal jurisdiction in the lands of Montreuil and Echaufour, and no archdeacon was permitted to interfere with the priests of those two lordships; for it happened that when his father Giroie succeeded to the domains of Heugon, as before related, he inquired of the inhabitants of the district in what bishopric it was situated. They replied that they belonged to no bishopric; upon which he exclaimed: "This is quite wrong; far be it from me to live without a pastor, and exempt from the yoke of ecclesiastical discipline." Upon further inquiry, which of the neighbouring bishops was most devoted to his religious duties, being informed of the virtues of Roger, bishop of Lisieux, he placed all his territories under his jurisdiction, persuading Baldric de Bauquencei and his sons-in-law Wascelin d'Echanfré and Roger de Merlerault, who enjoyed a similar exemption, to place their domains, in like manner, under the same bishop. Roger, bishop of Lisieux, observing that these nobles made a voluntary surrender of their immunities, complimented them on their devotion, and granted them the privilege that the clergy on their estates should not be impleaded out of their lords' jurisdiction, and should be exempt from the oppressions of the archdeacon's visitations. This privilege was strictly maintained by William de Giroie, who obtained the same exemption for the monks of St. Evroult from Bishop Hugh.¹

¹ This exemption from episcopal jurisdiction of territories which were the fiefs of lay lords, was not, we believe, very common. There are, or were till recently, some traces of it in England in the case of parishes where the patronage had the name of a donative. It was very usual for the greater abbeys to obtain such exemptions, either from the pope, or the bishops themselves, as the monks of St. Evroult obtained from bishop Hugh; and

William de Giroie married Hiltrude daughter of Fulbert de Beine, who had built the castle of L'aigle in the time of Duke Richard. By her he had a son named Arnold d'Echaufour; and afterwards marrying Emma, daughter of Walchelin de Tannei, who bore him William, called afterwards in Apulia the Good Norman.

The knight of whom we have repeatedly spoken was much beloved by Richard and Robert dukes of Normandy, for the fidelity which he maintained towards his liege lords Robert de Belesme, Talvas and Geoffrey, and others, either his [feudal] superiors or allies. In so doing he was subjected to constant molestation and even danger. He even voluntarily razed his own castle of Montacute¹ to effect the redemption of his Lord Geoffrey de Mayenne, when he was taken prisoner by William Talvas, and his liberation was refused on any other terms than the demolition of that castle which overawed the territories of Talvas. The release of Geoffrey from captivity having been thus obtained, he built the castle of St. Ceneri on the Sarthe, for the baron Giroie, in return for the devoted fidelity he had shown. I could say much more of this William de Giroie, but with so much before me I must pass on to other affairs; and I will now, as I promised, give a short account of his brothers.

Fulk, the third, had one moiety of the fief of Montreuil. He had two sons by a concubine, Giroie and Fulk. After the death of Duke Robert he was killed, along with his countryman Count Gislebert, with whom he served. Robert [the fourth brother] held the castle of St. Ceneri with the adjacent territory for a long course of years. Duke William gave him his cousin Adelaide in marriage, and he had by her a son also named Robert, who now serves in the army

this was often accompanied by the abbots having conferred on them the jurisdiction of an ordinary in the parishes included in their domains, the origin probably of that kind of jurisdiction in deans and other dignitaries of the English church.

¹ *Monte-Acutto*, or Montagu, near Bais, in Mayenne; a name preserved in the English peerage. Drogo de Montacute gave the same name to his castle in Somersetshire. The domain of St. Ceneri, otherwise St. Sélerin, on the Sarthe, which William Giroie received in exchange, was famous for the monastery founded on it by its lord about the middle of the seventh century.

of Henry king of England. After many brilliant achievements, when there were violent disputes between the Normans and Anjevins, this Robert, lord of St. Ceneri, held the castle against Duke William, and while besieged in it, in the twenty-fifth year of William's dukedom, died five days after eating a poisoned apple which he had snatched out of the hands of his wife.

Ralph, the fifth brother, was surnamed the Clerk, on account of his knowledge of letters and skill in other arts. He was also called Mala-corona, because in his youth he gave himself up to military exercises and other frivolities. He was versed in medicine, and in many deep secrets of nature, so that old men even now speak of him with wonder to their children and grand-children. In the course of time, he retired from the seductions of the world to the convent of Marmoutier, where he became a monk under the abbot Albert, and devoutly prayed to God that his body might be overspread with the loathsome disease of leprosy, that so his soul might be cleansed from the foulness of his sins. Obtaining his pious wish, he died happily six years after his conversion.

Hugh, the sixth brother, was unfortunately slain in the flower of his youth; for while he was returning one day from the castle of St. Scholasse, accompanied by his brothers and a large retinue, he stopped near the church of St. Germanus, on the lands of Echaufour, to practise with the lance, and his own squire, hurling a spear carelessly, mortally wounded him. Being of an amiable disposition, he presently called for the squire and said to him privately: "Flee with all haste, for you have severely wounded me. God have mercy on you! escape before my brothers are apprised of this accident, or they will certainly kill you." The noble youth expired the same day.

Giroie, the youngest of the seven brothers, while he was yet in the flower of his youth having plundered the lands of the church of Lisieux, while on his return to Montreuil

¹ It need hardly be remarked that in the middle ages *clericus*, clerk, was the designation of a person in holy orders, a clergyman, as it still is in legal phrase. By a metonymy it was sometimes applied to laymen, distinguished for their literary attainments, as our author here remarks respecting Ralph Giroie. King Henry I. was thus surnamed *Beau-Clerc*.

was seized with a frenzy, of which he died. Thus death, in various shapes, carried off all the sons of Giroie, without allowing one of them to live to old age.

Heremburge, the eldest of the daughters was given in marriage to Vascelin du Pont-Echanfré, and had by him two sons, William and Ralph, who afterwards were firm adherents to Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria, in Apulia and Sicily. Hawise, the next daughter, was married to Robert de Grand-mesnil, by whom she had three sons, Hugh, Robert, and Arnold, with the same number of daughters. On his death she married William, son of Robert the archbishop, to whom she bore Judith, who became the wife of Roger, count of Sicily. The third daughter of Giroie was Emma, who was given in marriage to Robert de Melerant, from which marriage sprung Rodolph, and William, father of our neighbours Rodolph and Roger. Adelaide, the fourth, married Solomon de Sablé, and bore him Reginald, whose son Lisiard is now a great supporter of Henry, king of England, against the count of Anjou. Having said enough of the family of Giroie, let us now return to the matter from which we have somewhat digressed.

In the first year of the foundation of the abbey of St. Evroult, William and Robert, sons of Giroie, and Hugh and Robert, their nephews, assembled at Ouche, with their sons, nephews, and barons. Consulting together for the advantage of the unfinished monastery which they had begun to erect, they agreed in common that each of them should at his death bequeath his body to St. Evroult with the whole of his substance, and that none of them should make a gift whether of tithes, or of a church or anything appertaining to a church, nor even offer it for sale, without first giving the option to the monks of St. Evroult. This agreement was firmly ratified by the priest Fulcoin, and Osmond Basset, by Louvet and Fulk, sons of Fredenlend, Odo the Red and Richard son of Gulbert, Robert de Torp, and Giroie des Loges, with others their barons. The founders of the monastery then took account of their possessions, and granted a fair portion, according to their ability, to the church they were building.

These are the possessions which Robert and Hugh and

Arnold, sons of Robert de Grand-mesnil, granted to the abbey of St. Evroult for the good of their souls. In Norrei, the church, and all the tithes, with the priest's glebe and three plough-lands, together with the vill called Soulangue; in Ouillie, all the benefice which Tezcelin the clerk held, and the tithes of the mills of that vill; English-Ville with its monastery;¹ the church of Villers with one yearly tenant; in the vill called Oth, the monastery, the priest's land, and the tithes of the mills of that vill; and in the monastery of Guéprei, they gave that part which their father Robert held; besides the tithe of La Bigne, and at Beaumais the third part of a mill with the tithe of the same; and the benefice of the priest Fulcuin, namely the church and tithe of Grand-mesnil, and the tithe of the mill of Olivet; one yearly tenant at Colleville with the tithe of the whole vill; also the tithe of wax, and the tithe of St. Pierre d'Entremont; moreover the church in the village called Foug, and that portion of the tithes of Coulonces which was held by their father Robert. Hugh gave the lands of Quilli to the afore-said abbey, on the petition of the lords of that vill, whose tenure was allodial; also the tithe of all his ploughs and beasts of burden, and the tithe of Mont-Chauvet, both of tolls and of corn, and the church of Louvigni with the priest's glebe. He gave besides the land called Noyer-Mesnard; at the place named Mesnil Bernard, one plough-land, and the fields of the vill of La Tanaisie; moreover the cell of Manselles with the priest's glebe; and the tenth of the tolls of Sap; and the farm called Mesnil Dode, and the church of Lim-

¹ The French editors have bestowed great pains in ascertaining the exact localities and modern names of all the places mentioned here, and elsewhere throughout the work, but as they possess little interest for the general English reader, these topographical notices are often omitted in the present edition.

The number of "monasteries" enumerated in this terrier of the possessions of the abbey of St. Evroult, renders a word of explanation necessary. The French editor remarks, that in this case, and frequently in the writings of the middle ages, the word "monasterium," *moutier*, ought to be taken in the sense of parish church. But the churches are generally mentioned separately, and it is apprehended that the residences of the clergy attached, the manse, or parsonage, are what is meant; there being generally two or more priests employed in the services of the church in the larger country parishes, who lived together in a sort of conventual life, celibacy beginning to prevail even among the secular clergy.

beuf with the priest's glebe; together with the portion which belonged to their mother in Vieux-Mesnil. At Neuf-Marché Hugh gave the fourth part of the monastery of St. Peter, and the tithe of one half of the tolls of the whole vill, as well as of the mills; and in Serifontaine the monastery and the third part of the tithe with all the firstfruits and five curtilages.

William, son of Giroie, with the consent of his sons Arnold and William, and his brothers Robert and Rodolph Mala-corona, who joined in the grant, gave to the aforesaid abbey the monastery of Echaufour and the tenth of the tolls of that vill, with the land of the priest Adelelm, and the tithe of the whole forest belonging to that vill, both in swine and in money, and the wood for all necessary uses; and moreover all the monasteries which were on his domain, one of which, dedicated to St. George, was built at Montreuil; two at Verneuces, one in honour of St. Mary, the other in honour of St. Paul; two at Sap, one in honour of St. Peter, the other in honour of St. Martin. All these he granted with the tithes and lands thereto belonging, and the tenths of all tolls, and all forest rights and other customary dues in Echaufour and Montreuil, and also in Sap.

When Theodoric had been, by the grace of God, consecrated abbot of the convent of St. Evroult, he bought of Arnold, son of William before-mentioned, with the consent of his uncle Robert and at the command of Count William,¹ the farm of Bauquencei, as it had been held by Baldric the said count's archer, and that part of the domain of Echaufour which is situated between le Noir-Eau and Charenton, and Essart d'Henri, and the tithes of the mill of Echaufour. Moreover, Arnold himself gave to the same abbey the lands of Haute-rive, with all that belonged thereto, with all his monasteries and glebe-lands, and the farm of Douet-Moussu.

¹ The dukes of Normandy were indiscriminately called counts, or earls, and sometimes they assumed, or had conferred on them, the title of marquis, which is occasionally used by Ordericus. Richard II. received the title of marquis of Normandy from the king of France and the pope, and he is sometimes also called consul, and in a charter of his to Ralph, count of Ivri, all these titles of duke, marquis, count, and consul of Normandy are accumulated in his single person.

Finally, William his brother, son of the William already mentioned, with the consent of his brother Giroie, and his cousins Giroie and Fulk, granted all the monasteries he possessed, in consideration of no small sum of money paid him by the abbot of the said convent. One of these, dedicated to St. Sulpicius, was situated at Mesnil-Bernard, another at Roiville dedicated to St. Leger, another at Monnai dedicated to St. Mary, with the moiety of the same Monnai in the tenure of Robert, he consenting : the monastery also of Ternant, and one in Les Essarts dedicated to St. Peter, another at Augerons with the whole vill, and one in Bois-Herbert. All these monasteries, with the tithes and glebe-lands, were given to the abbey of St. Evroult, as well by the said William as by the lords thereof; viz., Roger Goulafre de-Mesnil Bernard, Herfred de Roiville, Robert de Monnai, Herfred de Ternant, William priest of Essarts, William provost of Augerons, and Roger Faitel of Bois-Hebert.

Moreover William gave to the said abbey for the redemption of the soul of his mother Emma a farm of one plough, situate at Verneuces. He also, his brother Arnold consenting, gave one moiety of the mills of Verneuces, together with what he possessed there in his own right, viz., the farm of Warrin, and the wood of Landigou, and the farm of Bur-nend in Verneuces, and two fishermen at Ternant, with two kilns and one burgess at Montreuil. Moreover, William, son of Vauquelin de Pont-Erchanfré, gave the church of St. Mary to the said abbey, together with whatever Osbern the priest held, with the tenth of the tolls and the tithe of the mills and ploughs which he possessed or should possess there or elsewhere ; as also all the monasteries which he possessed, or should thereafter possess, and that part of Roiville which belonged to him.

Moreover, Robert son of Heugon, with the concurrence and assent of his lords, viz., William and Robert, and their sons and nephews, sold the church of St. Martin on the rivulet called Bailleul to the monks of St. Evroult, and the glebe of the same place with another farm of eight ploughs, for which they paid no small price. He also gave the moiety of the monastery of St. Andrew, with the priests' glebe, and the moiety of all his land in the vill. Robert

also, the son of Theodelin, gave the other moiety of the same monastery and of the whole vill.

Further, the abbot Theoderic purchased for eighteen pounds of William and Robert, sons of Robert surnamed Fresnel, the church of Our Lady of the Wood,¹ as it was held by a certain monk of the name of Placidus. Moreover, Hubert de Anceins sold to the abbot the church of that vill, and some acres of land. All these belonging to the lordship of William Fitz-Osbern the steward, were granted by him.

Next, Robert son of Giroie, ratifying and confirming all that his brothers and nephews with their allies had given to the abbey of St. Evroult, gave also to the same, of his own possessions, St. Ceneri, St. Peter de la Pôtè-des-nids, with all the tithes belonging thereto, and one half of the wood of St. Ceneri, with fishings in the Sarthe for the use of the monks who lived there, and St. Mary of Mount Gandelain, and the whole tithes of Siral, and of all the lands which he should thereafter acquire. Then also, Ralph, son of Godfrey, his man-at-arms, gave with his consent the church of Radon to the same abbey. Hearing of these benefactions, a good knight named Wadon de Dreux made a gift of the church of St. Michael on the Arve, in the canton of Evreux, with the consent of the lords under whom he held it, and his sons, kindred, and friends.

These were the benefactions with which William and Robert and others their kinsmen, endowed the abbey of St. Evroult, and, making a charter of them, presented it to William duke of Normandy for his confirmation. The duke gave a favourable reception to their petition, and graciously ratified their donations to the before-mentioned abbey. He also granted this special privilege to the abbey of St. Evroult, that it should be for ever exempt from all foreign jurisdiction. With respect also to the election of the abbots, he vested it entirely in the chapter of the brethren, subject to the rules of regular discipline, but on condition that the votes were not corruptly obtained, either by favouritism, or relationship, or certainly not by bribery. At the end of the charter the duke had this clause inserted, ratifying the

¹ " Sanctæ Mariæ de Bosco," *Notre-Dame-du-Bois*, originally the mother church of the parish in which the abbey of St. Evroult was built.

whole in the following words: "I, William, count of Normandy, have caused this deed of gift to be put in writing, and have had it confirmed, under pain of excommunication by the signatures of the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops, abbots, and nobles, whose names and marks are hereunto subscribed, in order that its provisions may remain firm and undisturbed henceforth and for ever; so that if any one shall presume to infringe them or shall in any wise injure them, either by himself or any other, he shall, by the authority of God and all the saints, be excommunicated from all Christian privileges, and, if he do not repent, be accursed for ever." Duke William subscribed this charter with the sign of the cross; and it was afterwards signed by Mauger archbishop of Rouen, son of Richard Gonnorides, duke of Normandy; by Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, son of William, count d'Eu; by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, uterine brother of Duke William; by William, bishop of Evreux, son of Gerard Fleitel; Gislebert, abbot of Châtillon; William, Robert, and Ralph, sons of Giroie; by their nephews Hugh de Grand-mesnil, Robert and Arnold; by William, son of Vascelin; by Ralph de Toni; by Ralph Taison; by Roger de Montgomery; by William Fitz-Osbern; by Richard de Beaufour, Richard de St. Scholasse; and many others of the Norman nobles, who were assembled in the forest of Lions at the duke's palace on the river Lieure,¹ before the church of St. Denys, and confirmed the charter of the abbey of St. Evroult, in the year of our Lord 1050, the fourth indiction.

The same year Robert de Grand-mesnil put off the secular habit, and submitted to the monastic rule under abbot Theodoric at St. Evroult. We have already mentioned that he was the son of Robert de Grand-mesnil, a powerful baron by Hawise the daughter of Giroie. In his childhood he applied himself diligently to letters, and was distinguished among those of his own age for his retentive memory. But from his earliest youth he began to despise the inaction of learning, and sought with eagerness the toils of arms,

¹ Formerly *St. Denis-en-Lions*. This seems to have been a favourite hunting-seat of the dukes of Normandy. Henry I. died there of eating lampreys, after returning from the chase (December 1, 1135). See *Henry of Huntingdon's History*, b. vii. p. 259 of Bohn's edition.

becoming for five years an esquire of Duke William. He was then raised by the same duke to the honours of chivalry; and having been knighted, received at the duke's hands noble rewards. Reflecting however on the chances of life, he chose rather to serve humbly in the Lord's house than to flourish like grass in the courts of the wicked. For he recollected the perils of worldly warfare, which had been experienced by his father and a host of others, who attacking their enemies fell into the snares which they had laid for others and perished. Thus his father Robert joined with Roger de Toni in battle against Roger de Beaumont, in which fight Roger de Toni, with his two sons Elbert and Elinance were slain outright, and Robert received a mortal wound in his bowels. Being carried off the field he survived three weeks, and divided his lands between his sons Hugh and Robert. Dying on the 14th of the calends of July [18th of June], he was interred without the church of St. Mary at Norrei.¹ This calamity roused his son Robert to strive in a better warfare. His first intention was to found a convent at Norrei, as it has been already stated, for the good of his soul and those of his ancestors, and to endow it liberally with the whole of his patrimony, if his brother Hugh consented. But his plans being changed, by the advice of his uncle William Giroie, he made the general deed of gift, jointly with his brother Hugh of the possessions already enumerated, and coming to St. Evroult there solemnly professed himself a monk according to the rule of St. Benedict. He suffered much inconvenience in supplying the necessities of the church, and often laid hands on the substance of his kinsfolk, who were very wealthy, charitably distributing it in the support of the faithful, for the salvation of their souls. Paying his mother Hawise forty livres of Rouen, he deprived her of her dowry, consisting of lands in Noyer-Menard, Vieux-Mesnil, La Tanaisie, and Mesnil-Dode, which he transferred to the abbey of St. Evroult. He also presented to the monks of St. Evroult as his mother's gift, the great psalter illuminated with pictures, which the choir frequently uses to the present time in chanting the praises of God. This volume was given

¹ See before, in book i. p. 150. what is said of the battle in which Robert de Grand-mesnil was mortally wounded.

by Emma, wife of Ethelred king of England, to Robert, archbishop of Rouen, her brother, and William who was son of that prelate had secretly abstracted it from his father's chamber and given to his wife Hawise to whom he was so much attached, that he sought every means of pleasing her. This Robert de Grand-mesnil conferred many other benefits on his church, and rendered himself very agreeable to his brethren both by the ecclesiastical ornaments he furnished, and by the necessary comforts he procured for them.

CH. III. *Notices of Theodoric first abbot of Evroult.—His care in collecting and multiplying copies of the scriptures and the fathers.—Legend respecting a copyist.—Norman conquests in Apulia, and other parts of the south of Italy.*

THE venerable abbot Theodoric zealously enforced the monastic rule, and studied, both in his words and actions the profit of the community entrusted to his charge. He was a Norman by birth, of the district of Talou; he was of middle stature, his face ruddy, and his voice agreeable; well versed in the sacred scriptures, and engaged in the duties of divine worship from childhood to old age. But as tares spring up unexpectedly among the wheat and are rooted out by the careful husbandman at the time of harvest, and delivered to the destroying flames, so sons of Belial are mingled in the company of the faithful, until at the time predestined, they are detected by the righteous Judge, and strictly subjected to the punishment they deserve. In the time of abbot Theodoric there was a monk in the society of Evroult named Romanus, who was instigated by the devil to steal the linen, and breeches, and other articles of that nature; and when he was repeatedly called to account by father Theodoric for such misdeeds, he stoutly denied being guilty of the theft, though he soon after confessed it. One night, however, while he was in bed he was seized by the demon and grievously tormented. The monks heard his horrible shrieks, and, coming to him and shaking him, sprinkled him with holy water, and with difficulty released him from the evil spirit which tormented him. Being come to himself, the monk understood that the devil had obtained this power over him on account of the thefts he had committed, and

made promises of keeping himself for the future from such offences. But afterwards he returned like a dog to his vomit, so that father Theodoric ordered his cowl to be stripped off, and turned him out of the convent. Thus expelled from the society of the brethren, it is reported that he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but what was his future lot we are wholly uninformed.

A certain priest whose name was Ansered, who lived in the commune of Sap led a very irregular life. But while suffering from disease he entreated the monks of St. Evroult to give him the habit of St. Benedict. Wrapped in this he was carried to the abbey and sent to the infirmary. But as soon as he recovered from his sickness, he resumed as nearly as possible the same irregularity of conduct which he had exhibited under the secular dress, so true it is as a wise writer says:—

“No change of clime can bring an altered mind.”¹

This man changed, indeed, his habit, but not his habitual conduct. The abbot Theodoric observed his reprehensible life and conversation, and heard that he detested the religious rule; for he had sent word to his father and mother that he was slandered, and entreated them to remove him from the monastery. The abbot therefore, acting in this case on the apostolic precept, “Put away from among yourselves the wicked person;” and that which saith: “If an unbelieving brother depart, let him depart,”² permitted him to retire from the abbey and enter again into the world. The man, adding sin to sin, kept company with a woman of light character: and not satisfied with her, made love to another whose name was Pomula. He made an appointment with her that they should go together to the shrine of St. Giles, hoping to keep the affair from coming to the knowledge of his parents and friends. Having fixed with her a place of meeting from which they should proceed in company, he himself set forth with some pilgrims who were going to the church of St. Giles. The woman, however, without informing Ansered, broke her engagement

¹ “Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.”

Hor. Ep. I. xi. 27.

² 1 Cor. v. 13—vii. 15.

and formed a connection with another clerk. Ansered, arriving at the appointed place of meeting, and not finding the woman there, said to his fellow pilgrims: "I must return home, having forgotten something for which I have occasion; but you need not lose any time on the road, for I shall soon overtake you." Retracing, then, his steps, and getting into the house in which the woman lived, by night, he found her in bed with the clerk. She signified to her lover that Ansered was there, upon which the clerk snatched up an axe, and striking Ansered on the head killed him on the spot. He then enclosed the body in a sack, and dragging it to a distance concealed it from sight in a hole in the ground. Sometime afterwards the body was found, for the wild beasts had disinterred it, devouring a leg and a thigh, and the discovery was made by the offensive smell. Indeed it was so pestiferous that no one could go near the spot. His father and mother, who were attached to him more than to any others, took up the remains and buried them outside the cemetery of the church. Such was the end of one who preferred returning to the vanities of the world, to spending his days with the servants of God in the religious life which would lead him upwards to the heavenly kingdom.

Another priest, whose name was Adelard, having assumed the monastic habit in consequence of his infirmities, gave to God and St. Evroult and his monks the church of Sap, with the tithes, of which he was enfeoffed, to be held by them in perpetuity. But having recovered his health, he repented of what he had done, and was bent on returning to the world. Abbot Theodoric, upon hearing this, caused the rule of St. Benedict to be read to him, and then thus addressed him: "You have heard the rule under which you have engaged to serve, if you can keep it, continue with us, but if you cannot, depart free;" for he would not detain any such against their will. Whereupon, Adelard, obstinately persisting in his evil design, withdrew himself from the monastery, and resumed the secular habit which he had relinquished; but when he sought to recover the church of Sap which he had made over to the monks of St. Evroult, Hugh de Grantmesnil, to whom the lordship of Sap belonged, would not consent. He therefore retired among his relations at Friardel, for he was of a good family, and

lived there nearly fifteen years. But he was never restored to good health, being afflicted with incessant infirmities. At last, perceiving that his end was approaching, and alarmed at the punishment which awaited his apostacy, he entreated abbot Mainer, who was the fourth in succession from the venerable Theodoric, that he might be allowed to resume the monastic habit which he had forfeited for his sins. But he died three weeks after his request was granted, being in such a state of weakness that he could not dispense with female attendance, so that he never returned alive to the monastery from which he had withdrawn.

In the time of William, duke of Normandy, Ivo, son of William de Belesme, held the bishopric of Sééz,¹ and, on the death of his brothers Warin, Robert, and William, inherited the town of Belesme as his father's heir. The bishop was handsome in person, learned, wise, and eloquent; witty, and of a most cheerful temper. He treated his clergy and the monks with parental kindness, and held Abbot Theodoric in great reverence, as among the chief of his friends. They had much private intercourse, for the city of Sééz is only seven leagues from the abbey of St. Evroult.² Roger de Montgomery, Viscount d'Exmes, had married Mabel, the bishop's niece, with whom he acquired a large portion of the domains of William de Belesme. This Roger, at the suggestion and by the advice of the bishop, transferred the church of St. Martin at Sééz to Theodoric, abbot of St. Evroult, and, in conjunction with his wife, earnestly begged that he would erect a monastery in that place. The bishop without delay commenced the work assigned to him, in the Lord's name, and settled at Sééz Roger, a monk of St. Evroult, in priest's orders, together with Morin and Engelbert, and others of his disciples, while he often repaired thither himself, remaining sometimes four or five weeks at a time, urging the prosecution of the work for the love of God and the good of posterity.³ Now, this Mabel was both powerful and politic, shrewd and fluent, but extremely

¹ He was bishop of Sééz from 1035 to 1070.

² The leagues here spoken of appear to be about 2200 *toises*, of six feet each.

³ This Roger de Montgomery, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury in England, was the patron of our author's father. See the preface to this volume, and b. v. c. 1.

cruel. Still she had a high regard for the excellent Theodoric, and in some things submitted to his admonitions, although in general she was severe with men of religion. In consequence, her son Roger, whose cruelties to his wretched dependants has made him notorious in the times in which I live, was brought to Roger and the rest of the monks settled at Sééz, to receive from them the holy sacrament of baptism.

True grace makes those in whose hearts it rules the delight of the good and the terror of evil-doers. Thus Abbot Theodoric was deservedly beloved by all good men, while he was feared by the wicked. As far as possible avoiding worldly cares, he devoted himself with earnest zeal to the worship of God. But, though diligent in the offices of prayer, he did not neglect such manual labours as were fitting his station. He was a skilful scribe, and he left to the young monks of St. Evroult some splendid specimens of his calligraphy. The book of *Collects*, the *Gradual*, and *Antiphonary*, were all written in the convent with his own hand. He procured also, by gentle solicitations, from his colleagues who accompanied him from Jumièges, several precious books of the divine law. Thus, his nephew Rodolf transcribed the Heptateuch,¹ and the missal from which the mass was sung daily in the choir; Hugh, his companion, made a copy of the commentary on Ezekiel, and the Decalogue, and the first part of the moral books; and Roger the priest, of the Paralipomena, the books of Solomon, and the third part of the moral books.

The worthy abbot, so often named, by these scribes and other antiquaries whom he succeeded in engaging in this work, during the eight years he governed the convent of St. Evroult, was able to procure for the library of the abbey all the books of the Old and New Testament, with the entire works of the eloquent Pope Gregory. From the same school proceeded some learned and excellent penmen, such as Berenger, who was afterwards made bishop of Venusa, Goscelin and Rodolph, Bernard, Turketil, and Richard, with many more, who filled the library at St. Evroult with the works of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, St.

¹ The first seven books of the Old Testament. The books before mentioned were offices used in the daily services of the church.

Ambrose and Isidore, Eusebius and Orosius, and other doctors of the church,¹ while, by their useful labours and example they encouraged the youths who were to succeed them in similar pursuits.

These novices the man of God himself instructed, often admonishing them carefully to shun the idleness of an unstable disposition, which is apt to enervate both mind and body; and addressing them in such words as these: "One of the brethren in a certain convent was guilty of repeated transgressions of the monastic rule, but he was a good scribe, and so applied himself to writing that he copied of his own accord a bulky volume of the holy scriptures.² After his death, his soul was brought before the tribunal of the righteous Judge. There the evil spirits sharply accused him, laying to his charge his innumerable offences; the holy angels, on the other hand, produced the volume which the brother had transcribed in the sanctuary of the Lord, counting letter for letter of the enormous volume against the several sins which the monk had committed. At last the letters had a majority of only one, against which all the devices of the devils failed to discover an equivalent failing. The mercy of the Judge was, therefore, extended to the sinful brother, and his soul was permitted to return to the body, in order that he might enjoy an opportunity of amending his life. Reflect frequently, my dearly beloved brethren, on this example, and cleanse your hearts from vain and sinful desires, offering continually the works of your hands as an acceptable sacrifice to the Lord your God.

¹ The French editors of Ordericus caused diligent search to be made in the public library at Alençon, to which the books saved at the destruction of the abbey of St. Evroult were removed, in the hope that one of the MSS. here mentioned might have escaped the ravages of time or violence, but nothing was discovered which could be traced to the period of abbot Theodoric, except St. Gregory's Homilies. The precious psalter, which had belonged to Queen Emma, and was given to the abbey of St. Evroult by Robert de Grant-mesnil, had probably been long worn out by its daily use in the choir service.

² Mr. Maitland, in his valuable *Essays on the State of Religion and Literature in the Ninth and following Centuries*, refers (p. 198) to these interesting notices of the diligence with which copies of the holy scriptures and writings of the early fathers were collected and multiplied by the monks, as part of a great mass of evidence tending to show that the condemnation of what are called the dark ages in the popular idea, is far too sweeping.

Shun sloth, that deadly poison, with the utmost care, for what saith our holy father Benedict?—"Sloth is the mortal enemy of the soul." Ponder often, also, on what is said by a doctor of eminence in his *Lives of the Fathers*: that only a single evil spirit vexes with his wiles the monk who is laboriously occupied, while a thousand devils infest the idler, and provoke him by the keen impulse of manifold temptations, on every side, to loath the restraints of the cloister, and to hanker after the soul-destroying vanities of the world, and indulgence in fatal delights. You, indeed, have not the means of feeding the poor with your alms, being possessed of no worldly substance; nor can you build noble churches, like the kings and great men of the world, confined, as you are to the cloister, and deprived of all power and influence; at least, then, bear in mind the exhortation of Solomon, and guard unceasingly the avenues to your hearts, striving earnestly to please God without ceasing. Pray, read, chant, write; and be instant in other occupations of the like kind, thus prudently arming yourselves against the temptations of evil spirits."

By such admonitions, Father Theodoric instructed his disciples, diligently stirring them up by argument, by entreaty, and by rebuke, to those good works of which he himself set them the example, not only in the offices of devotion, but by writing and other useful occupations. For these he was hated by some of the monks, who preferred secular concerns to their religious duties. Alas! they censured him for that which merited the highest respect; while they muttered: "This man is not fit to be an abbot, for he undervalues and neglects all worldly thrift. But how are the men of prayer to subsist, if the men of the plough are not forthcoming?"¹ He must be a fool who is more anxious about reading and writing in his monastery than about the means of procuring subsistence for the brethren." Some of the monks indulged insolent talk of this description, wronging the man of God with more of the same sort; but William, the son of Giroie, constantly paid him deep reverence for his sanctity, and checked the ebullitions of the

¹ We are obliged to use a periphrasis for one of those antithetical phrases, in which the writers of those times delighted: *Unde vivent oratores, si defecerint aratores?*

malcontents, whom I forbear to name, with great severity, affording him ready aid in all contentions which arose, both within and without the monastery. However, after some time, this noble soldier resolved on a journey to Apulia, upon business in which the welfare of the abbey of St. Evroult was concerned; and during his absence, which was much prolonged, the holy father Theodoric was left alone and forlorn in Normandy.

The conduct of wicked men is no less repugnant to the good, than theirs is to men of corrupt minds; so that as good men, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, use all the means in their power to bring the wicked into the way of righteousness; so these, actuated by the malignant influence of the devil, often strive zealously to turn the righteous into the paths of wickedness. They may not, perhaps, succeed in ruining them utterly, but they are sometimes able to perplex them in various ways, and cause them to be sluggish in their sacred calling. In this manner, while the abbey of Evroult was rising, and, enriched by good works, was becoming glorious both in the sight of God and man, some flagitious persons fomented various grudges against the society, causing infinite trouble in what concerned the subsistence, and the clothing, and the sacred entertainments¹ of the monks. But although tempestuous waves threatened to overwhelm the ship of the church, Christ, her true spouse, graciously manifested the brightness of his presence to succour his servants and confound the machinations of their enemies.

I propose in this place to give a true account of what happened to Mabel, daughter of William Talvas, though it is somewhat out of order. This lady caused many troubles, iniquitously contrived, to the monks of St. Evroult, on account of the hatred she bore to the founders of the abbey, notwithstanding that the monastic rule was strictly observed from the beginning, and the offices of charity were duly performed to all comers, as the custom is to this day. For she, as well as her father and all her kindred, fostered a never-ceasing animosity against the family of Giroie. But as her husband Roger de Montgomery loved and honoured

¹ *Agapen*; in the strict sense of the word, the love-feasts, peculiar to the apostolic and primitive ages of the church.

the monks, she did not venture to exhibit any open signs of her malicious feeling. She therefore made the abbey her frequent resort, attended by numerous bands of armed retainers, under pretence of claiming the hospitality of the monks,¹ but to their great oppression in the indigence to which they were subjected by the barrenness of their lands. At one time, when she had taken up her abode at the abbey with a hundred men-at-arms, and was questioned by abbot Theodoric why she came with such a splendid retinue to the abode of poor anchorites, and was warned to abstain from such absurdity, she exclaimed, in great wrath: "When I come again, my followers shall be still more numerous." The abbot replied: "Trust me; unless you repent of this iniquity you will suffer what will be very painful to you." And so it happened: for the very night following she was attacked by a disorder which caused her great suffering. Upon this, she gave instant orders for being carried forth from the abbey, and, hastening in a state of alarm to fly from the territory of St. Evroult, she passed by the dwelling of a certain farmer named Roger Suisnar, whose infant child she caused to suck her nipple, which occasioned her the severest pain. The infant died soon afterwards, while Mabel reached her home restored to health. She lived fifteen years afterwards, but never ventured to return to St. Evroult, after having there suffered under the chastisement of God; and from thenceforth she was very careful not to meddle, either for good or evil, with the occupants of the abbey, so long as she enjoyed the checquered delights of the present life. Notwithstanding, she had a great regard for abbot Theodoric, and confided to him much more than to the convent of St. Evroult, the cell of St. Martin, as I have already remarked in anticipation.

[A.D. 1016—1030.]² While Pope Benedict filled the

¹ A common grievance in the feudal ages.

² Our author here begins an account of the Norman conquests in the south of Italy, which is far from satisfactory; it is therefore proposed to inquire shortly how much truth and how much error it contains. It was in the year 1016 that a band of forty Norman pilgrims returning from Mount Garganus, met Melo the Lombard, who invited them to assist him in recovering Apulia. But it belonged at that time to the Greek emperor not to the Saracens, although the latter had ravaged it for two centuries, but without establishing any settlement. The year following, Melo, with

apostolic see, the Saracens of Africa made an annual descent with their galleys on the coast of Apulia, levying with impunity whatever contributions they pleased from the degenerate Lombards, of the Apulian cities, and the Greek colonies in Calabria. In those days, Osmond surnamed Drengot, hearing William Repostel insolently boast, in the presence of the Norman nobles, of having dishonoured his daughter, slew him in the presence of Robert the duke, in a wood where they were hunting. For this crime he was forced to make his escape with his sons and nephews, first into Brittany, afterwards into England, and at length to Beneventum. He was the first Norman who established himself in Apulia, having obtained from the prince of Beneventum the grant of a town as a settlement for himself and his heirs. Afterwards, a Norman knight who had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with a hundred men-at-arms, was hospitably entertained with his followers, on their return, by the Duke Waimalch, who humanely kept them several days, in order that they might refresh themselves. While they were there twenty thousand Saracens made a descent on the coast of Italy, and demanded, with great threats, tribute from the inhabitants of Salernum. While the duke and his guards were gathering the tribute from the citizens, the

the help of the Normans, recovered this fine country from the Greeks, but in 1019 he was in turn defeated by Bugienus, and his Norman auxiliaries were reduced to two hundred and seventy. Osmond, or Godfrey Drengot, did not arrive until the year 1020. William Repostel was not the favourite of Duke Robert, but of his father, Richard II. By the intervention of Pope Benedict VIII., this fresh band of Normans was received with open arms by the Lombard chief, who employed them in various wars against the Greeks, the Saracens, and sometimes among themselves. The story of the 20,000 Saracens surprised by one hundred Normans while they were taking refreshment in a meadow near Salerno, appears to be pure invention. In Naples the Normans first established themselves at Aversa, a city they built in the year 1030, on lands granted them by Sergius III., the then duke of Naples. Drengot was dead when the Emperor Conrad created his brother Ranulf count of Aversa in 1038. About that time William Bras-de-fer, Drogon, and Humphrey, the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, came into Italy. William, as the eldest, was acknowledged their chief, and assumed the title of count of Apulia in 1043. Drogo, who succeeded him in 1046, was assassinated at the instigation of the Greeks. Robert Guiscard did not obtain the government until after the death of Humphrey (1051—1057). Further particulars of the Norman conquests in the south of Italy will be found in the course of the present work.

pirates disembarked from their fleet, and began to prepare their meal in full security, and with great delight, on a grassy plain lying between the city and the sea-shore. The Normans, witnessing this, and finding that the duke was collecting money to pacify the infidels, gently rebuked the Apulians for thus ransoming themselves like defenceless women, instead of defending themselves, sword in hand, like brave men. They then flew to arms, and, making a sudden attack on the Africans who were waiting for the tribute in perfect security, many thousand of them were slain on the spot, and the rest were driven with disgrace to the refuge of their ships. The Normans returning, laden with gold and silver plate and other valuable booty, were much pressed by the duke to remain in honour at Salernum; but as they were anxious to re-visit their own country, they declined to accept his proposal. Some of them, however, promised to return, or speedily to send to the duke a chosen band of Norman youths. When, therefore, they had reached their native land, they had much to tell their countrymen of all that they had seen, and heard, and done, and suffered. In the end, some of them, fulfilling their engagement, retraced their steps to Italy, and by their example induced a number of their light-hearted countrymen to join in their enterprize. In short, Turstin surnamed Citel, and Ranulph; Richard, son of Ansquetil de Quarrel,¹ the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, viz. Drogo and Humphrey; William and Herman; Robert surnamed Guiscard, and Roger with their six brothers; William de Montreuil, Arnold de Grant-mesnil, and many others, left Normandy and reached Apulia, not all together, but at different times. On their arrival, they in the first instance took service, as mercenaries against the infidels under the Duke Waimalch and other nobles. Afterwards, however, disputes arising, they attacked those to whom they were previously subject, and by force of arms reduced Salernum, Bari, and Capua, with the whole of Campania and Calabria, under their own dominion. They also gained possession, in Sicily, of Palermo, Catania, Castel-Giovanni, and other cities and fine towns which are held by their heirs to the present day.

¹ Richard de Carel married a daughter of Tancred de Hauteville, and obtained for his share of the conquest the principality of Capua.

Among the Normans who crossed the Tiber, no one distinguished himself more than William de Montreuil, son of William Giroie, and, being appointed to the chief command of the Roman troops, he carried the banner of St. Peter to the conquest of the fertile plains of Campania. Being a friend and brother of the monks of St. Evroult, to whom he made large grants, as already mentioned, before he left Normandy, he sent to desire them to despatch a trusty messenger, by whom he might forward the presents he had prepared for them. His father William being informed of this, voluntarily offered to undertake the mission for the good of holy church. Abbot Theodoric heard the proposal with mingled joy and grief; joy, at the devotion which inflamed the heart of his friend, and induced him, old as he was, to undertake so toilsome a journey; grief, at losing the society of one who was ready at all good works. At length, the holy father and Robert the prior, with the whole chapter, commended the Lord William to God's protection, selecting for his companions Humphrey, a most intelligent monk, and Roger of Jumièges, a skilful penman, with twelve other honourable attendants. Crossing the Alps he travelled to Rome, and thence pursued his journey to Apulia, where he found his son and other friends, kinsfolk, and relations. His arrival caused them all the greatest joy, and, prevailing on him to remain with them a considerable time, during which he was entertained with the highest distinction, they committed to his charge many magnificent presents for the support of the abbey for which he was a suitor. Wishing however to send relief to the poor brethren without delay, he sent back the monk Humphrey, with a considerable sum of money; but, by the mysterious decrees of God's providence, this enterprize turned out otherwise than he had hoped; for Humphrey, having got as far as Rome, determined to winter there, in the monastery of St. Paul the apostle. But he was poisoned by the Romans for the sake of the gold he had in his possession, and so the venerable pilgrim died in the confession of the faith of Christ, on the ides [13th] of December. Shortly afterwards William himself took his departure for Normandy, conveying a large sum of money, but when he reached Gaieta, so called from the nurse of Æneas the Trojan, he was seized with a mortal disease.

Thereupon he summoned to his side the two knights, Ansquetil du Noyer, son of Ascelin, and Théodelin de Tanie, and thus addressed them: "You know that your twelve companions who came out of Normandy together in full health, all but you are dead; I also am attacked by a severe disease which is fast hurrying me to the grave. I therefore commend to your custody Ansquetil, in the presence of Théodelin as witness, the money of which I am the bearer, in order that you may honestly carry it to the lord abbot Theodoric, and my nephew Robert, and the other monks of St. Evroult, for whom I am now in a foreign land. Ye are both liege-men of the abbey, and are bound to do it faithful service. Let no love of lucre lead you astray. Reflect well that all your comrades having perished, you only survive, through the merits of the blessed Evroult, in order perhaps that you may faithfully render him this service. Bear my last farewell to the monks at St. Evroult, whom I love in Christ as my own life, and earnestly entreat them to supplicate Almighty God on my behalf with zealous fervour." With this and such-like discourse he brought forth the gold, and rich palls, with a silver chalice, and other articles of great price, and, making an exact inventory of them delivered them to Ansquetil. Not long afterwards, his sickness prevailing to extremity, the noble knight departed in the faith of Christ, on the nones [5th] of February, and received honourable interment in the church of St. Erasmus, bishop and martyr,¹ which is an episcopal see. Ansquetil and Théodelin then pursued their journey into France, and arrived safely at home. Some days afterwards Ansquetil went to St. Evroult and announced to the brethren the death of the lord William and his companions, but observed total silence as to the money with which he had been entrusted and had already dishonestly converted to his own use. On hearing the death of the founder of their abbey the monks were in great tribulation, and zealously offered prayers, and masses, and other sacred offices on behalf of his soul to God, in whom all things live; which are diligently continued by their successors to the present day. When

¹ St. Elmo, or Erasmus, bishop of Formiæ, and martyr, who perished in Diocletian's persecution. His remains were deposited in the neighbouring cathedral of Gaieta.

Ansquetil had returned home, his comrade Théodelin came to St. Evroult and inquired of the monks what had been brought to them from Apulia, and was astonished to find that they had received nothing but the sorrowful tidings of the death of their friends. He therefore related to them the whole truth, describing all that had occurred, both in prosperous and adverse circumstances during their peregrinations. Upon this, Abbot Theodoric sent for Ansquetil, and demanded from him the money committed to his charge. At first he denied having received it, but, being confronted with Théodelin, he admitted the truth: "I did receive," he said, "the money you demand from my lord William; part of it I have applied to my own use, and the rest I deposited at Rheims, by the advice of my lord Rodolph Mala-Corona, who met me there." On hearing this the monks despatched him twice to Rheims to Gervase the archbishop,¹ to recover the money deposited, once in company with Reginald of Sap, one of the monks, and again with Fulk. The monk was received with great kindness by the metropolitan, who assisted him, as far as it was in his power, in the object of his journey. For while he was bishop of Mans, often repairing to the court of William, duke of Normandy, with whom he was intimate, the monks of St. Evroult used to give him honourable entertainment with all his attendants. On seeing therefore the monk Fulk, he was anxious to return kindness for kindness. But as a long time had elapsed, and Ansquetil had carelessly deposited the things for which Fulk made inquiries, he was only able to recover a few of the least valuable of all the articles which were sent from Apulia; with difficulty obtaining the silver chalice, two chasubles, an elephant's tooth, a griffin's claw, and some others. The monks, taking into consideration the fraudulent conduct of Ansquetil, summoned him to trial in their court at St. Evroult, where Richard d'Avranches, son of Turstin, and many other barons appeared to support him. But, on the just complaints of the monks, judgment was fairly pronounced against him of forfeiture of the whole of the fief he held of the abbey. In the end, by the mediation of friends on both sides, this agreement was made: Ansquetil

¹ Gervais of Château-du-Loir, bishop of Mans, 1036—1055, archbishop of Rheims, 1055—1067.

openly confessing his guilt, gave pledges to abbot Theodoric for his future good conduct, and humbly supplicated pardon from the monks; and, as a compensation for the loss which he had caused them by his default, he surrendered to the abbey of St. Evroult, in the presence of many witnesses, the third part of the burgh of Ouche, which he possessed as heir to his father. In token of this, he offered on the altar of St. Evroult one mantle of silk, of which a cope was made for the chanter. The monks, thereupon, satisfied by his penitence, pardoned his offences, and kindly restored to him all the rest of his fief, except the part which he had surrendered by the advice of his friends. Not long afterwards Ansquetil went into Apulia, where he was slain.

The old enemy never fails to disturb the peace of the church by the incentives of manifold temptations, bringing those with whom he is able to prevail into subjection to worldly vanities, and grievously afflicting those who by prudent watchfulness in the simplicity of the Catholic faith stand manfully upright in the perfection of their Christian virtues. When therefore he saw a regular monastery rising by God's help, in the forest of Ouche, and that abbot Theodoric was by word and deed profiting the souls both of young and old in the neighbouring town, he burnt with the same malice which wrought the expulsion of the protoplast Adam from Paradise through the desire of the forbidden fruit, and stirred up the prior Robert, after the death of William de Giroie, to a presumptuous opposition against his abbot; and by the dissensions thence arising for a long time disquieted the minds of the subject members of the fraternity. This Robert, as I have fully noticed before, was of high rank, being the brother of Hugh de Grant-mesnil; and all the levity of his youth, indomitable resolution, and worldly ambition, still clung to him. His continence and other monastic virtues were praiseworthy; while, on the other hand, as Horace says:—

“Man's happiness is ne'er complete,”¹

he was reprehensible for many failings. For whether what he coveted was right or wrong, he was hasty and headstrong in gaining his ends, and was quickly irritated when anything

¹ Odes, B. II. xvi. v. 27.

he heard or saw offended him; more prone to lead than to follow, to command than to obey. His hand was always open both to receive and to disburse, and his mouth to give ready vent to his wrath in violent ebullitions. Illustrious by the high lineage already mentioned, and being one of the founders of the abbey in which he had collected from all parts brothers whose duty was to perform divine worship, and having amply endowed them with all things necessary for their subsistence, he found himself unable to submit to the strict rules of a monastic life in the new establishment. He therefore frequently complained in private to his spiritual father, that the holy man was more occupied with his religious duties than with secular concerns. He even sometimes opposed him openly, and found fault with some of his acts simply relating to exterior objects. So that the man of God often took refuge in his quiet retreat at Sééz, abiding there six or eight weeks, doing God's work in peace and zealously promoting the salvation of men by all the means in his power. He thus waited for the improvement of his refractory brother, fulfilling the apostle's admonition: "Give place unto wrath."¹ Finding, however, that the rancour and the scandals did not cease, but rather increased, to the great injury of the brethren, he tendered his pastoral staff to William the duke of Normandy, offering to resign his rank and office of abbot. The duke thereupon, taking judicious counsel, committed the whole matter to the decision of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, enjoining him to inquire diligently into the causes of the dissension, and to make such order thereon as, by the advice of prudent counsellors, he should think right.

In the year of our Lord 1056, the eighth indiction, when Pope Victor filled the apostolic see, Henry, surnamed the Good, emperor of the Romans, and son of Conon [Conrad] departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who reigned fifty years.² The same year, Maurilius the archbishop, and Fulbert the sophist, his chancellor, with Hugh,

¹ Rom. xii. 19.

² The emperor Henry III., son of Conrad (not Conon), died on the 5th of October, 1056. He was succeeded by his son, Henry IV., who died August 7, 1106. Pope Victor II., installed April 13, 1055, died the 28th of July, 1058.

bishop of Lisieux, Ansfrid, abbot of Préaux and Lanfranc, prior of Bec, with several other dignitaries of sound judgment, assembled at the abbey of St. Evroult; and celebrated the feast of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the third of the calends of July [29th June]. Having inquired into and carefully considered the grounds of the dissension, it was ordered that the abbot Theodoric should continue the government of the abbey, as he had done before, and Robert the prior was admonished, in the fullest terms, to conform to his vows of poverty in Christ, and to obey his spiritual father, for the love of God, in all humility. The commissioners having returned home, a short period of repose was enjoyed by the flock at St. Evroult; but a year afterwards, when the news arrived of the death of William de Giroie, the smothered strife again broke out, and disputes adverse both to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the monks distracted the community. And now Theodoric, to whom peace was dear, was in difficulties on every side. For at Séez it was out of his power to promote the salvation of souls, and to finish the building of the cell which Roger and his wife had begun to erect, because they were then much occupied by worldly affairs, and exposed to serious attacks from their enemies in various quarters; while at St. Evroult he could neither further his own good nor that of others, by reason of the vexations which he had to endure from some of the more influential monks. At last, after long reflection upon the course he ought to pursue, according to the will of God, he determined to abandon all and undertake a pilgrimage to the tomb of our Lord at Jerusalem.

CH. IV. *Account of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, undertaken by Theodoric, first abbot of St. Evroult, after resigning his charge—His death at the island of Cyprus.*

ON the fourth of the calends of September [August 24th], abbot Theodoric left Séez, where he had rested long, and, proceeding to St. Evroult, convoked a chapter of the monks to whom he made known his intentions, and admonishing, absolving, and blessing them all, he commended them to God. Thence he went to Lisieux, and surrendered his cure of souls to the bishop, by whom he was much beloved; then he commenced his holy pilgrimage for Christ amidst the

tears of many of his friends. Herbert de Montreuil, the first monk he admitted to the monastery of St. Evroult, accompanied him, as well as the clerk William, surnamed Bonne-Ame, son of Radbod bishop of Sééz, who some time afterwards held the metropolitan see of Rouen for nearly twenty-six years.

In those days there existed a noble hospital on the confines of the territories of the Bavarians and Huns,¹ which the truly Christian and powerful barons of the neighbouring provinces had founded for the reception of the poor and pilgrims. At that time Ansgot, a Norman, governed this hospital, having been elected by the natives. He was a cousin of Robert de Toni, called the Spaniard, who had borne arms with distinction under Richard and Robert, dukes of Normandy; but inspired with the fear of God, he had relinquished all worldly advantages, and had chosen to undergo voluntary poverty during the remainder of his life for Christ's sake. Recognizing Theodoric and his companions as countrymen, he gave them a cordial reception and entertained them for some days with great hospitality, paying them the kindest attentions.

Meanwhile, a certain religious, the chief bishop of the Bavarians, going on a pilgrimage arrived at the hospital, where he was honourably received, with all his retinue, as the custom was by the liberal Ansgot, and prevailed on to sojourn for a while. He also earnestly recommended the venerable Theodoric and his attendants to the care of this bishop, pointing out his sanctity as a father in God, and his worldly rank in his own country. The bishop, hearing the abbot's character, gave thanks to God, and, cordially paying the respect due to a man of his station, took him in his company as far as Antioch. There a difference of opinion arose among the pilgrims. Some of them wished to continue their journey by land, as they had hitherto prosecuted it, the whole way to Jerusalem. Others, alarmed for their safety among the fierce infidels, determined to take ship and pass into the Holy Land by sea. In this proposal the bishop and abbot, with some others, concurred. While, however, the bishop was engaging a ship and an able crew,

¹ M. Pertz conjectures that this hospital was situated at Mülk in Lower Austria, where a celebrated abbey was founded twenty-six years afterwards.

and a certain religious, who was archimandrite of the convent of St. Simeon in the port of Syria,¹ was hospitably entertaining Theodoric and his companions, Herbert the monk of St. Evroult was seized with the desire of hastening his journey, and preferred to continue his pilgrimage to the holy places by land rather than by sea. His abbot accordingly gave him permission to go as he pleased. Taking, therefore, the road through the country, with a crowd of pilgrims on foot, and having reached Laodicea, he there fell sick, and was compelled to abide for some time, his companions proceeding on their way. As soon as he was able to rise from his bed, he did not take one step further in advance, but bidding farewell to the east, turned westward, and hastened back to Normandy.

The bishop, with Theodoric and William Bonne-Ame with their companions, embarked at the port of St. Simeon, and sailed to the island of Cyprus. They found there on the sea-shore a convent founded by St. Nicholas the confessor, archbishop of Myria.² Entering the church, they performed their devotions as each was inspired by divine grace; and Theodoric, on rising from his prayers, during which he had wept much, sat down exhausted in the church, for his frame was shattered by the weight of years, his sufferings at sea, and other fatigues. The bishop, his faithful companion, inquiring of him what had happened, he replied: "I had proposed, my father, to visit the earthly Jerusalem, but I believe that the Lord has otherwise disposed of his servant. I am suffering great bodily anguish, and I am led to think that I must turn my face to the heavenly, instead of the earthly, Jerusalem." The bishop made answer, "Rest here, dearest brother, while I go to procure a lodging for your reception." The bishop leaving him for this purpose, Theodoric approached the altar, and was for some time engaged in prayer to God, whom he had faithfully served from his youth upward. He then prostrated himself

¹ This port appears to correspond with a place called by the Arabs Soueyda, on the northern shore of the gulf, at the mouth of the Orontes. It took its ancient name from St. Simeon Stylites, who died in a monastery near it about the year 592.

² There is a place, marked St. Nicholas on the maps, near Cape St. Andrew, on the northern point of the island of Cyprus, but we find no account of the monastery mentioned by our author.

before the altar, with his face to the east, and decently gathering his robe round him, lay on his right side, as if he was composing himself for sleep, when laying his head on the marble step, and crossing his hands on his breast, he thus gave up his devout soul to God who created it, on the calends [the 1st] of August.

Meanwhile, the bishop having prepared a lodging, called the servant of the man of God, and sent him to the church to conduct his master to it. But when he found the holy man lying dead in the church, he returned to the bishop in great alarm, and trembling, told him of the unexpected calamity. The bishop, however, not believing that the man of God had so suddenly departed, said to him: "The good old man is much exhausted by his sufferings at sea, and the intense heat; and therefore he is enjoying refreshing sleep in the coolness of the church on the cold marble. Let us go and see him." He then proceeded to the church, attended by his clergy. But when he had carefully felt the body of his comrade, and found that it was really chilled in death, he was overpowered with grief. Immediately collecting all the pilgrims who, dispersed in their several lodgings, were procuring refreshments, he commanded them to assemble in the church, while he fully made known to the inhabitants of the place the character of the companion of their pilgrimage who there lay dead. The inhabitants were filled with joy for his holy life, and freely offered their services to the other pilgrims. The bishop, then, with his clergy, paid the last offices to the remains of the defunct, ordering the rest of the pilgrims to prepare a place for his interment before the church-door. Having, therefore, dug a grave with their staves where the bishop directed, they returned to the pavement where the corpse lay, with the bishop standing by, to carry it forth for burial. But it was so ordered by God that the body was so heavy, that they were utterly unable to raise it from the spot where the holy man fell asleep. The bishop and all the spectators were much astonished at this, and consulted together for some moments what was to be done. At length the bishop, divinely inspired, said: "This was a most holy man, and his life, as it is now clearly manifest, was well pleasing to God. I am, therefore, of opinion that he ought to be interred in a spot more worthy of him, and

that his remains ought to be treated, with all the reverential ceremony which it is in our power to bestow. I propose, therefore, with the assistance of my clergy, to offer the holy sacrifice of the mass for the good of his soul, and you shall prepare a more fitting grave for him near the altar." The pilgrims giving a willing consent, and the mass being performed with all reverence, and the grave carefully made, they raised the corpse without difficulty and decently interred it before the altar; and there afterwards many persons suffering from fevers and other disorders were miraculously cured.

The monks of St. Evroult were filled with grief when they received intelligence of the death of their reverend father on the return of his fellow pilgrims to Normandy. They did not fail of performing faithfully the due offices of religion for the repose of his soul, and his memory is yearly kept to the present day with a solemn service on the calends [1st] of August. They also studiously adhered to the religious rules which he had learned from the venerable abbots Richard of Verdun, William of Dijon, and Theodoric of Jumièges,¹ and had faithfully transferred to the new establishment committed to his charge, which rules are still diligently taught to the novices preparing themselves for the monastic life.

CH. V. *Robert de Grant-mesnil, second abbot of St. Evroult — Offends Duke William, and being expelled, becomes abbot of St. Euphemia in Calabria—Affairs of Normandy, and of the Normans in Apulia, &c.*

IN the year of our Lord 1059, the twelfth indiction, the monks of St. Evroult elected for their abbot, Robert de Grant-mesnil, considering with reason the many advantages of such a choice, arising both from his illustrious descent, his zeal for the interests of the community, and his aptitude and perseverance in business. His election being ratified by the unanimous assent of the entire chapter, he was conducted to Evreux by a delegate of the brethren who presented him to Duke William, and, announcing the election, petitioned the duke to confirm it. The duke consent-

¹ Richard de Verdun died July 14, 1046; William de Dijon, January 1, 1031. Theoderic, abbot of Jumièges, in 1027 or 1028.

ing, invested the abbot elect with the exterior jurisdiction of the convent by the crosier of Ives, bishop of Sééz, and William, bishop of Evreux, committed to him the interior cure of souls in matters spiritual, by episcopal consecration on the eleventh of the calends of July [June 21st]. Robert, thus made abbot, entered diligently on the administration of the conventual concerns, making abundant provision from the wealth of his family of all things necessary for the service of God. Far from diminishing the proper observances which his pious predecessor had instituted, he augmented them, having regard to what was timely and reasonable, and taking for his guide the authority of the ancients and the practices of neighbouring communities. While yet a novice he had, by the permission of the venerable Theodoric, visited the abbey of Cluni, at the time that Abbot Hugh, the glory of the monastic order in our days, presided over that community. Returning some time afterwards from Cluni he brought with him, by the indulgence of the generous Hugh, an illustrious monk named Bernefrid, who was afterwards made a bishop, and obtained his assistance while he assimilated the practices of the monks of St. Evroult to the Clunian model. During the abbacy of Robert, Mainer, son of Gunscelin d'Echoufour, came to St. Evroult for his probation: he afterwards rose to the government of the convent, which he ruled well twenty-one years and ten months.

At that time Ralph, surnamed Mala-Corona, came to St. Evroult, where he abode a long time with Abbot Robert, who was his nephew. As I have before remarked, he was studious from his childhood, and learnt the secrets of science with signal success, in the schools of France and Italy, being deeply skilled in astronomy as well as in grammar and dialectics, and also in music. He was so complete a master of the art of medicine, that at Palermo, where the most ancient school of medicine had long flourished, he was unrivalled except by one most skilful matron. But although his learning was so extensive and profound, he did not abandon himself to a peaceful life, but served in the wars, and often distinguished himself among his comrades, both in council and in the field. The natives of Montreuil still relate many things which appear to us wonderful con-

cerning his experiments in cases of disease and other accidents, such as they were witnesses of themselves, or heard from their fathers, to whom he was well known by his long residence among them. At last, apprehending the destruction of a tottering world, and taking the precaution of a prudent retirement, he despised its luxury, and betook himself to Marmoutier, a cell dependent on the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where for seven years he lived in submission to the monastic rule under Albert its venerable abbot. After he had been confirmed in that order, he came to St. Evroult, by permission of his abbot, to assist his nephew, who had lately undertaken the government of the new monastery. This noble soldier having obtained from the Lord by earnest prayers the disease of leprosy to expiate the multitude of sins which burdened his conscience, his nephew gave him a chapel which he had built in honour of St. Evroult, where he lived for a considerable time, having the monk Goscelin for his own comfort and the service of God, and did much good by his counsels to numbers who flocked to him on account of his deep wisdom and high rank.

At his earnest request, Abbot Robert invited Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, a true father and director of the monks, who came and consecrated the chapel¹ in honour of the holy confessors St. Evroult, St. Benedict, and Leudfrid, on the second of the nones [6th] of May. Report says that this church was founded as early as the time of St. Evroult, and that it was his custom to retire to it, to the exclusion of all worldly cares, in order that he might devote himself more earnestly to heavenly contemplations. The site is pleasant and well suited to a hermit's life. The little river Carenton flows through a wild valley, dividing the bishopric of Lisieux from that of Evreux. The summit of the mountain is clothed with a forest, the thick foliage of which forms a screen from the blasts of the wind; the chapel stands on the declivity, between the wood and the rivulet, surrounded by an orchard. A fountain bursts out before the door, which forms the source of the Ouche, from which the whole district round derives its name.

It need be no matter of wonder that the bishop of Lisieux should consecrate a chapel in the diocese of Evreux. At

¹ This chapel stood between the abbey and the village of Echaufour.

that time, three prelates of distinguished liberality and great courtesy presided over adjoining dioceses. Hugh, son of William count d'Eu, was bishop of Lisieux; William, son of Gerard Fleitel, was spiritual ruler of the people of Evreux; and Ives, son of William de Belesme, had the cure of souls at Séez. These three bishops were then distinguished in Normandy for their zeal and unanimity, so that each of them, as time and circumstances required, administered all divine offices on the confines of a neighbouring diocese the same as if it were his own, without any contention or jealousy.

At the instigation of the devil, who never ceases from mischief to mankind, violent hostilities broke out between the French and the Normans. Henry, king of France, and Geoffrey Martel, the valiant count of Anjou, crossed the frontiers of Normandy with numerous forces and committed great ravages. On the other hand, William, the brave duke of Normandy, was not slow in taking ample revenge for the injury done, taking many of the French and Angevins prisoners, putting some to death, and throwing numbers into prison, where they long suffered. The reader who desires to make himself acquainted with the particulars of the attacks and devastations, which ensued on one side or the other, will find them described in the works of William, a monk of Jumièges, surnamed Calculus, and William of Poitiers, archdeacon of Lisieux, who have written the history of Normandy with great care, and dedicated their works to William, then king of England, whose favour they wished to secure.¹

At that time Robert, son of Giroie, revolted against Duke William, and, uniting with the Angevins, strongly garrisoned his castles of St. Ceneri and La Roche d'Igé, holding them for some time against the attacks of the duke with Norman troops. But all mortal strength is transitory and fades like the flower of grass, for this great soldier, after his gallant actions, while he was making merry as he sat by the hearth in winter, seeing his wife Adelaide (who was the duke's cousin) with four apples in her hand, snatched

¹ For an account of this war, which took place in 1054, see William de Poitiers, in *Duchesne, Hist. Norman.* p. 181, and William de Jumièges, *ib.* p. 276.

two of them in sport, unconscious of their being poisoned, and ate them in spite of all her efforts to prevent him. The poison made rapid progress, and to the great grief of his friends, he expired five days afterwards, on the 8th of the ides [6th] of February. On his death Arnold, son of William de Giroie, succeeded to the command, in his uncle's place, encouraging the townsmen by his entreaties and admonitions to defend to the last the inheritance of his father. But the prudent duke disarmed his hostility with smooth words, and engaged him by his promises to consent to peace. Arnold, by the advice of his friends, agreed to the duke's proposals, and paying his homage, was invested with the fiefs of Montreuil, Echoufour, St. Ceneri, and all the domains he inherited from his ancestors. On the peace being settled, abbot Robert requested permission from the duke to transfer the body of his uncle, which had lain buried at St. Ceneri for three weeks, to the abbey of St. Evroult. The duke at first refused, actuated by his recent animosity; but being ashamed to keep alive his resentment against the dead, he presently gave his consent. The abbot lost no time in translating the corpse of Robert de Giroie to St. Evroult in a coffin of wood, and honourably buried it in the monks' cloister. All who were present wondered that, though the body had lain dead three weeks, no offensive smell was observed. Some persons pretend that the virulence of the poison which killed him had dried up all the humours in the body of the deceased, so that there was nothing to offend the nostrils of the by-standers.

The monks of St. Evroult were well pleased that Arnold was restored to his lawful jurisdiction, and with his support resisted the oppressions of some troublesome persons who had taken advantage of their defenceless state. In the time of Abbot Theodoric and Robert his successor, Baldric and Viger de Bauquency and their people, had not only carried themselves insolently towards the monks, and were insubordinate to them as their lords, but often harassed them and their servants. Robert, on his becoming abbot, thought it disgraceful to submit any longer to such conduct. He therefore, having consulted the brethren, gave up the rebels to his cousin, that he might chastise with a soldier's strong hand the stubbornness of men who were too

proud to submit to the gentle rule of the monks. Arnold laid upon them the burden of many hard services, compelling them and their people to guard his fortified castles of Echaufour and St. Ceneri. Upon this they earnestly entreated abbot Robert and the monks that they would be pleased to take them again under their own rule, promising in future entire submission and better conduct. The abbot and monks, listening to their prayers, besought Arnold to restore them to their service under the church, which to those who are humble and well disposed is truly liberal.

At this time Roger, the eldest son of Engenulf de Aquila, was slain. Engenulf and his wife Richveride came to St. Evroult in deep grief, entreating the prayers and good offices of the monks for the good of the souls of themselves and their son Roger, which were granted; and they thereupon offered his best horse to God and the monks. The horse being very valuable, Arnold begged to have it, yielding up Baldric and his people with the fief of Bauquency to be subject to the monks as before. This was done: Arnold receiving the horse from his cousin Robert and restoring Baldric with the land of Bauquency to his former tenure under the abbey. Baldric, overjoyed at having thus escaped from the burdensome service of Arnold, granted to the monks a domain which he possessed in the vill of St. Evroult, as also his land upon the rivulet of Douet Villars, and that of the Norman Mica and Benignus. Then Baldric swore fealty to abbot Robert with joined hands, promising suit and service, and demanding that his fief should not again be severed from the estates of the monks. They granted and ratified this, and both Baldric and Robert his son, from that time to the present day, have done service to none but the monks for the lands of Bauquency.¹

The abbey of St. Evroult stands in the fief of Bauquency, and this Baldric was a man of high birth. For Gislebert, Count de Brionne, nephew of Richard duke of Normandy, gave his niece in marriage to Baldric the German, who came into Normandy, with Viger his brother, to take service

¹ Such surrenders of lay fiefs to the monasteries, for the purpose of holding under them, were very common in England, the object being to escape from the rapacities of the feudal lords, and exchange the military service for a milder tenure under the church.

under the duke. From this marriage sprung six sons, besides several daughters, viz.: Nicholas de Basqueville; Fulk d'Aunoun; Robert de Courcy; Richard de Neuville, Baldric de Bauquency; and Viger of Apulia. They all distinguished themselves by great valour under Duke William, from whom they received great riches and honours, and left to their heirs vast possessions in Normandy.

Baldric who, with his brother Viger, held the fief of Bauquency, gave his sister Elizabeth in marriage to Fulk de Bonneval, a brave knight, and for her dowry the church of St. Nicholas, built by his father, with the lands adjoining. Fulk, not forgetful of the life to come, presented to God, for the good of his soul and those of his kindred, his son Theodoric, to whom abbot Theodoric was baptismal sponsor, offering to St. Evroult the youth and the abbey of St. Nicholas of which we have just spoken. Baldric, Viger, and William de Bonneval, readily confirmed these offerings; they, and many others who were present, assisting as legal witnesses of the gift, for the greater security of the church. Among them was Roger, son of Tancred de Hauteville, who afterwards went into Italy, and, by God's help, became master of a great part of Sicily, having attacked, defeated, and subdued the Africans, Sicilians, and other nations, unbelievers in Christ, who ravaged that island. The boy Theodoric, thus separated from the world and devoted to God, lived fifty-seven years under the monastic rule, and, rising to the priesthood by regular degrees, waged his spiritual warfare with great fidelity.

At that time Guy, surnamed Bollein, great nephew of the elder Giroie, lived in high honour with his wife Hodierna in the Corbonnois, and, having gained much wealth by his military service, managed his affairs with entire credit. He had several sons, of whom Norman and Walter served in the wars, while Godfrey and William, surnamed Gregory, being devoted to learning, obtained the office of priests.

The aforesaid Guy, by the inspiration of God, and his natural feeling for abbot Robert, who was his cousin, showed great regard for the monks of St. Evroult, and shut out from the world and from himself his son William, a boy about nine years old, whom he placed in the convent of St. Evroult, to serve God under the monastic rule, on the feast

of All Saints. Then William le Prevost, a noble knight, the lad's uncle, gave to St. Evroult the church with the whole vill of Augeron, vowing himself and the whole of his substance to the same patron at the end of his life. By the grace of God the boy William grew up in a virtuous course and was diligent in his studies, so that his superiors gave him the surname of Gregory. Carefully nurtured in the bosom of our holy mother the church, and entirely shut out from the tumults of the world and carnal indulgences, he made great advances in those pursuits which are so especially fitting the sons of the church, being an excellent reader and chanter, and exceedingly skilled in copying and illuminating books. The works executed by his own hands are still very useful to us in reading and chanting, and serve for examples to deter us from idleness by the exercise of similar diligence. Assiduous from his very childhood at the offices of devotion and vigils, and submitting with moderation even in his old age to fastings and other macerations of the flesh, he was a strict observer of monastic discipline himself, and a zealous monitor of those who infringed the holy rule. He had committed to his tenacious memory the Epistles of St. Paul, the Proverbs of Solomon, and other portions of sacred scripture, which he quoted in his daily conversations for the benefit of those with whom he conferred. Devoted to these pursuits, he has already spent fifty-four years in the order of monks, and still continues the practice of good works, in his usual manner, under abbot Roger, that by ending well he may attain to the assurance of eternal rest.

While the community at the abbey of St. Evroult was nobly augmented by the accession of forty monks, and the monastic rule was there regularly observed according to the order of the divine Lord, its fame spread far and wide, disposing numbers of persons to become attached to it. Meanwhile, some being infected with a rancorous hatred were punished by the sharp edge of their own malice. Abbot Robert, endowed with genuine liberality, received willingly all who came from every quarter to enter on their probation, and steadily supplied the brethren with all things necessary for their subsistence and clothing. The revenues indeed of the abbey, which was situated in a barren district,

were inadequate to supply the abbot's liberality; but, as it has been already remarked, he often went among his noble relations and obtained from them the means which he applied for the benefit of the monks with the willing consent of the donors.

The old chapel, built by St. Evroult, being a small and rude edifice, he laid the foundations, in the first year of his rule, of a new church in a noble style of architecture which he resolved to dedicate to St. Mary, mother of God, and to enrich with many altars of the saints. On account also of the holy relics which were deposited in the old church in the time of St. Evroult (but on account of the lapse of time men now living are ignorant of their names, acts, and places of deposit), he determined to make the new building of such dimensions that it should include within its walls the whole of the ancient chapel, and thus for ever honourably contain the bones and tombs of the saints which lay hidden within. But he was compelled to desist from his undertaking by the stormy times which began to threaten, and no one among his successors ventured to carry out the work in the proportions and on the plan and site which he had intended.

In the year of our Lord 1059, the thirteenth indiction, Henry, king of France, after a glorious and prosperous reign, demanded of John, a physician of Chartres, who from some accident was called the Deaf, a potion which should restore his health and prolong his life; but, being very thirsty, under the influence of his inclination more than of his physician's advice, he made his chamberlain bring him water privately, while the medicine, passing through his intestines, gave him great pain, and before they were cleared by it. Thus, drinking without the knowledge of his leech, he died, alas! on the morrow, to the great grief of his people.¹ He left the sceptre of France to his son Philip, who was still of tender years, appointing Baldwin, duke of Flanders, his guardian and regent of the kingdom. The duke was a fitting person to undertake his trust, having married Adela, daughter of Robert, king of France, by whom he had Robert, the Frisian, the queen of England,

¹ Henry IV., king of France, died, not in 1059, but on the 29th of August, 1060.

and Eudes, archbishop of Treves, with other children of high rank.¹

The same year died Frederick, son of Duke Gothelon, who was also called Pope Stephen, he was succeeded by Gerard, called also Nicholas.² This was the third year of Henry IV., son of Henry Conrad the emperor, and Agnes, empress, who reigned fifty years, being the eighty-seventh emperor from Augustus.

Pope Nicholas died A.D. 1063, and was succeeded by Alexander, bishop of Lucca, at which time Sigefred, bishop of Mayence, and Gunter, of Bamberg, and many other bishops and nobles, made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem with numerous attendants.³

At that period, grave dissensions arose between William, duke of Normandy, and his barons. For one ambitious man eagerly endeavoured to supplant another, so that bitter quarrels sprung up from various causes to the great injury of the wretched people. At this men of a cruel turn of mind found reason to rejoice, while all who loved piety and tranquillity were deeply grieved. Among those who regarded these disputes with satisfaction were Roger de Montgomery and Mabel his wife, who took the opportunity of gaining the duke's favour by fair professions, while they exasperated him against their neighbours by their crafty manœuvres. The duke, naturally passionate, gave the reins to his wrath, more than justice required, disinheriting the distinguished knights, Rodolph de Toni, Hugh de Grant-mesnil, and Arnold d'Echaufour, with their barons, and compelling them to undergo a long exile without any real cause of offence. At the same time, Robert, abbot of St. Evroult, was cited before the duke's court, and a day appointed him to answer the

¹ Baldwin V., earl of Flanders (1034—1067), married Adelaide of France, king Henry's sister, by whom he had six children: Baldwin VI. and Robert, his successors; Eudes, archbishop of Treves; Henry, Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror; and Judith, who was married successively to Tosti, brother of Harold, and Welf, duke of Bavaria.

² Stephen IX., elected pope August 2, 1057, and died March 29, 1058. Nicholas II. was elected December 28, 1058.

³ Nicholas II. died the 21st or 22nd of July, 1061; and was succeeded by Alexander II., who was before bishop of Lucca.

The two preceding paragraphs appear to have been interpolated in the margin of the MS. of St. Evroult some time after it was written.

charges which were falsely alleged against him. For Rainer, a monk of Châtillon, whom he had raised to be prior of St. Evroult, and had admitted without reserve to his most privy councils, as a confidential friend, had accused him of certain words, spoken in jest and thoughtlessly, of the duke's personal character. Abbot Robert, finding his sovereign to be violently enraged against himself and his whole kindred, and bent on their ruin, and having friendly intimation which satisfied him that the marquis's¹ anger menaced him with bodily injury, he determined, by the advice of Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, to escape from the wrath which threatened him, before it inflicted any irreparable calamity. Accordingly, on the sixth of the calends of February [January 27], in the third year of his rule as abbot [A.D. 1061], after chanting at vespers the antiphon, *Peccata mea, Domine*, he took his departure, and, mounting on horseback with two monks, Fulk and Urse, travelled through France, and thence proceeded to present himself to Pope Nicholas, and lay his case before him.

Meanwhile, the duke of Normandy, by the advice of the venerable Ansfrid, abbot of Préaux, Lanfranc, prior of Bec, and other ecclesiastics, required Rainer, abbot of the convent of the Holy Trinity at Rouen, to send to him Osbern, prior of Corneille, who, little suspecting the duke's intentions, was by him invested with the dignity of abbot of St. Evroult in a synod at Rouen, the duke using the crozier of St. Maurilius, the archbishop, for the investiture. Thereupon, Bishop Hugh, by the duke's order, conducted Osbern to Préaux, and there consecrated him abbot; and then taking him to St. Evroult, at the command of the imperious duke, set him over the sorrowing monks. This proceeding caused them the greatest trouble and perplexity; for, while their abbot was still alive, a prelate who had laid the foundations of the new church, had admitted many of them into the order, and whose expulsion had been effected, not by the judgment of a synod on just accusations, but by the tyrannical will of the imperious marquis, they were reluctant to receive another ruler; but, on the other hand, they did not dare openly to refuse, fearing the duke's anger. At

¹ Our author is speaking of William I., duke of Normandy. See the note at p. 397 as to the various titles given to the dukes.

length, by the bishop's advice, they preferred to submit to the violent intrusion, and to tender their obedience to the master provided for them, rather than continue without any government, being in opposition to the power of God, and running the risk of ruining the new abbey, by drawing on themselves the still more violent displeasure of the duke by resisting his will.

Meanwhile, Arnold d'Echaufour took signal vengeance for the act which disinherited him, by desolating the district of Lisieux, plundering and burning, and either putting to the sword or making prisoners the inhabitants for three years together.¹ Coming one night to Echaufour, with only four men-at-arms, he secretly gained admission into the castle with his followers, and, raising great shouts, they so terrified the garrison which the duke had placed there, consisting of sixty men, that they deserted the fortifications which it was their duty to defend, and fled. Arnold forthwith set it on fire, causing great loss to the enemy. At another time, he committed the town of St. Evroult to the flames; and his retainers, with drawn swords in their hands, made a diligent search in every corner of the monastery for Osbern, the new abbot, threatening him with instant death. But Providence had so ordered it, that he was then absent. Some days afterwards, Herman the cellarer went privately to Arnold, and gently rebuked him for having threatened the ruin of an abbey which his father had founded for the repose of his soul. Arnold listened with reverence to the remonstrances of the servant of God, and, touched with the remembrance of his father's piety, bewailed his own ill-conduct towards the abbey of St. Evroult, promising in his penitence a becoming amends. Accordingly, he soon afterwards came to St. Evroult, and, offering on the altar a token of his repentance for his evil deeds, sought absolution, putting Abbot Osbern in security for the future; for the cellarer had adroitly insinuated the truth that it was no ambition of the new abbot which had led to his elevation, but that he was compelled by the power of the duke, and instigated by his own superiors, to undertake the govern-

¹ Our author has omitted to tell us in this place, from whence he made these hostile irruptions, but it appears afterwards that he made his head quarters at Courville, near Chartres.

ment of the widowed abbey, much against his own wishes.

Meanwhile Abbot Robert had made his way to Rome, where he laid before Pope Nicholas precise details of the circumstances which had induced him to undertake the journey. The pope, who was a native of France, received his countryman with great kindness, heard his complaints with interest, and promised to support him in his difficult position. Robert also paid a visit to his relations in Apulia, where they had obtained possession of many cities and towns by force of arms. After having a conference with them, he returned to Normandy, furnished with apostolical letters, and accompanied by two cardinal's clerks, and boldly presented himself at the court of Duke William, which he then held at Lillebonne.¹ Hearing that Abbot Robert with the papal legates were arrived for the purpose of claiming the abbey of St. Evroult, and to take proceedings against Osbern, who was made abbot in his place by the duke's command, as an intruder on the rights of another, he was violently enraged, saying that "he would willingly receive the envoys which the pope, as the common father of Christians, sent to him, touching the faith and the Christian religion, but that if any monk in his territories brought charges against him, he would hang him with contempt on the highest tree in the neighbouring forest." Bishop Hugh, hearing this, communicated it to Robert, recommending him to avoid the presence of the angry prince. He, therefore, departed in haste, retiring to the abbey of St. Denys, the apostle of the Gauls, in the neighbourhood of Paris, where he was received by his cousin Hugh, the venerable abbot, and was for some time honourably entertained by him, and others, his friends and relations, who were among the most powerful of the French nobility. From thence he sent a message, to Abbot Osbern that both should appear at Chartres, before the Roman cardinals, when, the controversy being carefully inquired into, they should both submit themselves unhesitatingly to the final judgment of ecclesiastical authorities, according to the decrees of the sacred canons.

¹ The dukes of Normandy had here one of their favourite and most frequented seats; *Julia-Bona, sedes regia a dominis Normannorum multum amata et frequentata*, says Robert du Mont's Chronicle.

On receiving the summons, Osbern declared that he would willingly go to the court of Rome; but, by the advice of others, he did not appear at the appointed time and place. Whereupon Robert, by means of a servant of the abbey taken by Arnold, sent letters, by the pope's authority, excommunicating Osbern as an intruder, and positively requiring all the monks of the abbey of St. Evroult to submit to him.

It is impossible to describe the troubles with which the church of St. Evroult was now harassed, both within and without. Here was Robert, one of their founders, and their chief ruler, unjustly expelled from his seat, and compelled to become a fugitive from house to house in foreign lands; while a stranger was thrust into this place by the secular arm, who, though a man of ability, and both religious and zealous for the interests of their order, was naturally enough suspicious and apprehensive and little disposed to put confidence in the native brethren. When, therefore, they heard of the excommunication launched against the intruding abbot, and received the monition of father Robert commanding his sons to join him, with the pope's concurrence, some of them, turning their backs on Normandy, accompanied their abbot to the apostolic see. Almost all, indeed, were desirous to depart, but the young and the infirm, being more closely confined, were obliged to remain against their will. Those who were strong enough, and who assumed greater liberty, went into voluntary exile with their venerable father; whose names are as follows: Herbert and Hubert de Montreuil, and Berenger, son of Arnold, a skilful penman. These three monks, carefully educated from their childhood in the Lord's house, and their minds stored with sound learning, were all their lives valuable members of a community devoted to God's service. There were also Reginald the Great, a skilful grammarian; Thomas of Angers, of noble birth; Robert Gamaliel, an excellent chanter; Turstin, Reynold Chevreuil, and Walter the Little. All these abandoning Neustria, their native soil, after suffering various accidents reached Sicily, from whence some of them afterwards returned, while others, devoting their services to their shepherd, even to the end, closed their days in Calabria.

The lord Mainer, who had been appointed prior by abbot Robert before he quitted the abbey, first betook himself to Bec a few days after his departure, and was the first to consult with Lanfranc prior of Bec, about substituting another abbot. He therefore implacably offended the father who had received his first profession. Alarmed at his denunciations, and exposed with shame to the taunts of his partisans, Mainer obtained leave from abbot Osmond to migrate to Cluni, where he submitted for a year to undergo with zeal the rigour of that rule under the venerable abbot Hugh.

Amongst all these changes, the abbey of St. Evroult suffered great devastations, being robbed of many of the domains it before possessed. The neighbouring lords, who were kinsmen or tenants of the Giroies, seeing the right heirs expelled, inflicted grievous troubles and losses on the monks of St. Evroult. For each seized a farm, or a church, or tithes; and the new abbot, being a stranger, was unacquainted with all the grants of possessions to the monks, and he hesitated to inquire of those in whom he placed no confidence respecting the domains which Robert son of Heugon, and Giroie son of Fulk de Montreuil, Roger Gulafre,¹ and other evil-disposed neighbours, had usurped. So that at this period the abbey of St. Evroult lost many estates which to this hour it has never recovered.

On the death of Pope Nicholas, he was succeeded by Alexander, to whom abbot Robert presented himself with eleven monks of St. Evroult, and laid before him at length the wrongs of himself and his companions in exile. The pope comforted them with paternal kindness, and assigned them the church of St. Paul at Rome, where they might dwell and observe their rule, until they were able to

¹ A person of the family of Goulafre, *Gulielmus Gulafra*, figures in the Domesday Book among the inferior landholders in Suffolk. The Roger here mentioned by our author, appears to be the same person who at the instance of William Giroie II., gave the church of Mesnil-Bernard, afterwards called La Gonlafrière, to the abbey of St. Evroult. It need not be wondered that the feudal lords of this period, alternately prodigal and rapacious, exhibited so much caprice in their dealings with the church. In this same paragraph we find Robert, the son of Heugon, after giving the patronage of his parish to the abbey of St. Evroult, become one of its greediest plunderers.

find a fitting abode for themselves. Robert then called William de Montreuil to his assistance, a call which he found him ready to attend to. This knight was standard-bearer to the pope, and had reduced Campania by force of arms and brought back the natives who were cut off by various schisms from catholic unity to submission to St. Peter the apostle. He gave to his exiled cousin and his monks the half of an ancient city called Aquina.¹ Robert afterwards went to Richard prince of Capua, son of Ansquetel de Quarel,² from whom he received much civility, but he did not carry into effect the promises he made with so much courtesy. Robert, finding himself deluded by empty hopes, reproached him in much anger for his degeneracy from his father, whom he knew well, and taking leave of him, betook himself to Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria.³ The duke paid him great honours as his natural lord, and begged him to take up his abode permanently with his monks in his territory. Robert Guiscard's father, Tancred de Hauteville, who was born in the Cotentin, had twelve sons and several daughters by his two lawful wives. He gave up his patrimonial estate to one of the sons whose name was Geoffrey, apprising the rest that they must gain their livelihood by their courage and by their talents beyond the bounds of their native land. All these young men migrated to Apulia, not together but at different times, in the guise of pilgrims with scrip and staff, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans. In the course of events they all became dukes and counts in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Geoffrey the monk, surnamed Malaterra, at the instance of Robert count of Sicily, has lately published an excellent work on their noble acts, and bold enterprizes.⁴ Of these brothers,

¹ Aquinium, a city of the *Terra del Lavoro*, the ancient Samnium, famous as the birth-place of Juvenal, Pescennius Niger, and St. Thomas D'Aquinas.

² See before, p. 427.

³ Robert Guiscard had his title of count of Apulia, which he received from his companions in arms the preceding year, confirmed by Pope Nicholas II. in 1060.

⁴ He was a native of Normandy and a monk of the convent of St. Euphemia, and wrote a history of the conquest of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily by the Normans, concluding with the beginning of July, 1093. The best edition is to be found in *Muratori's Collection of the Historians of Italy*, tom. v.

Robert Guiscard obtained the highest rank, and was the most powerful, having, after the death of his brothers Drogo and Humfrey¹ long possessed the principality of Apulia, and conquered the dukedom of Calabria from the Lombards and Greeks, who struggled hard to defend their ancient rights and independence, trusting in their great cities and towns, but were at last reduced to submission by the event of arms. Crossing the Ionian sea with a small but brave band of Normans joined by Cisalpine troops, Robert Guiscard invaded Macedonia, twice gave battle to Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, and put to flight his immense army, defeating him both by sea and land.²

This lord, as I have mentioned before, received with honour abbot Robert and his monks, assigning to him the church of St. Euphemia, which stands on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, where the ruins of an ancient city called Brescia,³ and commanding him to build a monastery there in honour of St. Mary, mother of God. The duke, as well as other Normans, made large grants to this abbey, commending themselves to the prayers of the faithful who were already collected or should be thereafter gathered there for the service of Christ. In this abbey was buried Fredesend, wife of Tancred de Hauteville; on whose behalf her son Guiscard endowed the church of St. Euphemia with a large farm. The same prince committed to father Robert the

¹ Our author omits to mention William Bras-de-fer, the eldest brother, who was the first count of Apulia (1043—1046).

² The expedition of Robert Guiscard into Macedonia was undertaken in the years 1081—1082.

³ St. Euphemia does not stand on the coast of the Adriatic, but on the Mediterranean, to the west of Nicastro, near the confines of the two Calabrias. The town which gives name to the neighbouring gulf was not built on the site of a place called Brixia, but on that of Lampetia. Our author must have confounded it with a village of the same name situate in the environs of Brescia, and consequently at the other extremity of Italy. The abbey of St. Euphemia, which was founded long before the arrival of the Normans, had been plundered and reduced to ruins, with all the neighbouring country, by the Arabs of Sicily, who so often carried fire and sword through this part of the coast of Calabria in the latter part of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries. Restored by the Norman princes, it flourished for a long period. Richard, one of the abbots, was witness to a charter of Bonhomme, archbishop of Cosenza, in 1199; and a monk named Peter was transferred from it to the bishopric of Strongoli in 1254.

abbey of the Holy Trinity in the city of Venosa.¹ Robert selected Berenger, a monk of St. Evroult, son of Arnold, who was son of Heugon, whom he presented to Pope Alexander to be admitted to the government of the abbey of Venosa. Receiving the papal benediction, he administered it with distinction during the period that Alexander, Gregory, and Desiderius, filled the apostolical see, but in the time of Pope Urban he was advanced to the bishopric of that city, having been elected by the people. Born of a noble family, Berenger obeyed the monastic rule from his childhood under abbot Theodoric at St. Evroult, and displayed superior talent in reading and chanting, as well as in the art of copying books. Having in the end, as already related, followed his abbot into banishment, and been chosen by him to undertake the pastoral charge of the abbey at Venosa, he found there only a small company of twenty monks, very much occupied with worldly vanities, and very slothful in God's service; but by God's grace he raised the number of the community to one hundred, and inspired them with so much zeal for religion, that several of them were made bishops and abbots, and filled these high dignities of our holy mother church to the honour of the true King and the salvation of souls. Moreover, this great duke committed also a third monastery, built in the city of Melito² in honour of St. Michael the archangel, to abbot Robert, which he presented to William of Ingran, who was born and became a clerk at St. Evroult, but whose profession of a monk was made at St. Euphemia. These three Italian monasteries therefore follow the usage of the chant at St. Evroult, and observe the same monastic rule, so far as the habits of that country and the inclinations of the inmates allow.

Two uterine sisters of Abbot Robert, Judith and Anna, remained at Ouche in the chapel of St. Evroult, and having taken the veil apparently renounced the world, and were devoted to God only, in purity of body and soul. These nuns, hearing that their brother Robert flourished under the protection of the temporal power in Italy, and finding themselves of small account and without support in

¹ Venosa is an episcopal city of the Basilicata.

² An episcopal city in the Lower Calabria.

Normandy, they went into Italy and relinquishing the veil gave themselves up with ardour to a worldly life, and both of them married husbands who were unconscious of their having taken the vows. Roger, count of Sicily, married Judith, and another count, whose name I cannot recollect, married Emma. Thus, from love of the world, both quitted the veil the emblem of a religious life, and thus rendering void their first faith, neither were blessed with children, and for a short interval of temporal felicity they incurred the displeasure of their heavenly Spouse.

After the departure of Abbot Robert, his uncle Robert Mala-Corona, perceiving the bitter persecution which was raging against his relations, and that strangers were advanced to power in the abbey of St. Evroult which he and his brothers had founded for the service of God, withdrew from the chapel of St. Evroult, where, as already mentioned, he had taken up his abode, and retired to Marmoutier in which convent he had first made his monastic profession, and where he soon afterwards made a glorious end on the fourteenth of the calends of February [19th January], having lived seven years under the conventual rule.

CH. VI. *William I., duke of Normandy, augments his power—His marriage with Matilda—Their children—He recalls the exiled barons.*

AT this time, Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, after a succession of brilliant exploits and much worldly prosperity, departed this life,¹ leaving his honours to his nephew Geoffrey, son of Aubrey count of Gaston, as he had no children of his own. Geoffrey however was after some time treacherously made prisoner by his brother Fulk, surnamed Richin, who usurped his earldom and kept him captive in the castle of Chinon for thirty years.²

In these times William, duke of Normandy, vastly aug-

¹ He died at the abbey of St. Nicholas, in Angers, the 14th of November, 1060.

² Geoffrey and Fulk were not the sons of Aubrey, count of Gaston, but of Geoffrey, count of Châtoulandon. Geoffrey Martel divided his territories between them, instead of leaving the whole to the elder, as our author states. It was on the 4th of April, 1067, that Geoffrey was made prisoner by his brother, and confined at Chinon for the rest of his life.

mented his influence and power, surpassing all the neighbouring sovereigns in liberality and magnificence. He married the illustrious princess Matilda, daughter of Baldwin [V.] earl of Flanders, and niece of Henry, king of France, by his sister.¹ From this marriage, by God's favour, he had the following sons and daughters; Robert and Richard, William and Henry, Adeliza and Constance, Cicely and Adele.² There is no lack of materials from which well-informed historians might compose copious narratives, if they would apply themselves diligently to hand down to posterity the eventful lives of these illustrious personages. For ourselves, living in monastic seclusion, intent on the rules of our order, and not being versed in the affairs of courts, we will return to the thread of our history, shortly noticing what falls within our own province.

When war broke out between the Normans and their neighbours in Brittany and Maine, Duke William, by the advice of his counsellors, determined on restoring concord among his own barons, and recalling the exiles.³ Moved therefore by the entreaties of Simon de Montfort, and Waleran de Breteuil in the Beauvais, and other powerful friends and neighbours, he recalled Rodolph de Toni and Hugh de Grant-mesnil, great nobles who had been disinherited and forced into exile with their followers as before related, and who were now restored to their hereditary estates. Arnold also, after levying war for three years, accepted a truce from the duke, and paid a visit to his friends and relations who had great possessions in Apulia, from whence he soon afterwards returned with a large sum of money and a rich mantle for the duke.

CH. VII. *Osbern, the intrusive abbot of St. Evroult, appeals to Pope Alexander II.—His letter—He is confirmed—Management of his convent—Musical services.*

THE storm of troubles with which the abbey of St. Evroult was beset being somewhat abated, Osbern, the intrusive

¹ Adelaide of France, the daughter of King Robert.

² Our author omits to mention Agatha, the eldest daughter, whose history is so affecting, and who was successively affianced to Harold and to Alphonso, king of Leon.

³ The exiles were recalled in 1063.

abbot who was tortured by great perplexities, and conscience-smitten by the apostolic excommunication launched against him, took the course, with the advice and consent of the brethren, of recalling from Cluni the lord Mainer who was appointed prior of St. Evroult by Abbot Robert, and restoring him to that office, from which Fulcher was now deposed. This Osbern, son of Herfast, a native of the district of Caux, was well instructed in literature from his very youth; he was eloquent in speech, and had a lively genius for the arts, such as sculpture, architecture, copying manuscripts, and many things of that sort. He was of middle stature, in the prime of years, his head covered with a profusion of black and grey hair. Severe towards the silly and the supercilious, he was benevolent to the infirm and the indigent, and tolerably liberal to humble individuals and foreigners, being at the same time zealous for his order, and a diligent purveyor of all the brethren needed, both in their spiritual and temporal capacity. To the novices he was a strict disciplinarian, urging them, both with chidings and stripes, to progress in reading, singing, and writing. He made with his own hands writing implements for the youths and the uninstructed, preparing for them tablets overspread with wax, and required daily from each the portion of work assigned to them. An enemy to idleness, he had the art of impressing on the youthful mind profitable pursuits, and thus prepared for implanting the riches of science in future years. Osbern was at first a canon of Lisieux, at the time the lord Herbert was bishop;¹ but being afterwards desirous of submitting himself to a stricter rule, he threw off the secular habit; and, to amend his life according to God's will, secluded himself in the new monastery which Goscelin d'Arques had founded on the mount of the Holy Trinity at Rouen, where Abbot Isembert, a man of singular piety in our age, then flourished. Abbot Rainier, Isembert's successor, sent Osbern, after passing his probation in the order, to establish the monastic rule at Cormeilles, where William Fitz-Osbern, steward of Normandy, was founding an abbey in honour of St. Mary, mother of God. When, however, Abbot Robert was deprived of his office, in the manner already described, Osbern was unwittingly and unwillingly

¹ Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, 1022—1049.

preferred to the government of the abbey of St. Evreux, which he administered with diligence and success, so far as the troubles of those unhappy times permitted, for five years and three months.

By leave of his abbot Rainier, he had brought with him to St. Evroult a very learned and religious monk whose name was Witmund, and made use of his counsels and suggestions as long as he lived. This monk was an accomplished musician as well as grammarian, of which he has left us evidence in the antiphons and responses which he composed, consisting of some charming melodies in the antiphonary and collection of versicles. He completed the history of the life of St. Evroult by adding nine antiphons and three responses. He composed four antiphons to the psalms at vespers, and added the three last for the second nocturn, with the fourth, eighth, and twelfth response, and an antiphon at the canticles, and produced a most beautiful antiphon for the canticle at the gospel in the second vespers. The history of the life of St. Evroult had been already written by Arnulph, precentor of Chartres,¹ a pupil of Fulbert, bishop of that see, at the request of Abbot Robert, for the use of his monks; and it was first recited by two young monks, Hubert and Rodolph, sent for that purpose by the abbot of Chartres. Afterwards, Reginald the Bald composed the response, "To the glory of God," sung at vespers, with seven antiphons which still appear in the service books of the monks of St. Evroult. Roger de Sap, also, and other studious brethren produced, with pious devotion, several hymns having the same holy father for their subject, and which they placed in the library of the abbey for the use of their successors.

Abbot Osbern, still tortured with anxiety in consequence of the apostolical anathema under which he was compelled to live, determined, on prudent advice, to send an envoy to Rome, by whom he would humbly implore the papal benediction.

¹ This life of St. Evroult, the founder of the abbey of Ouche which afterwards bore his name, was written about the end of the seventh century, although Vossius thought it to be of the sixth, and Baillet of the eighth. Ordericus Vitalis has inserted it in the sixth book of his history, and Mabillon has published it entire, with notes and additions, in his *Recueil*, tom. i. pp. 354—361.

He therefore instructed Witmund, a monk of great sagacity, to indite a suppliant epistle, which a young monk whose name was Bernard, with the addition of Mather, an excellent penman, was carefully to commit to writing. The following is the text of this epistle:

“To our apostolical lord, Alexander,¹ vicar of St. Peter, the common and most excellent father of mankind—his humble servant at a far distance, Osbern, abbot of St. Evroult in Normandy, sends health, devoted submission, and his most earnest supplication.

“Since, holy father, it belongs to your office, in preference to and above all other bishops of the church, to extend your care over the whole of Christendom, to seek zealously to gain souls, and by your authority to restore concord where dissensions have arisen, an obscure abbot as I am, but still clinging to the shelter of your bosom, I lift my voice to you with intense earnestness of mind, imploring your indulgence, and beseeching you to deign to interpose your righteous authority to deliver me from what I suffer from certain distractions in the order to which I belong. The case is this. The abbey of St. Evroult, which I now possess, was formerly held by a cousin of your faithful servant, William of Normandy, the lord abbot Robert, who for some cause of offence, vacated his office and departed. Upon this the sovereign prince of that country and the bishops of the church made me abbot in his place, and, as they then alleged and still allege, to remove my own doubts and fears, they duly and according to God’s will consecrated me to the vacant dignity. I know not whether they are right; but this I assuredly know, from my own conscience, that I obtained the style and office of abbot neither by importunity, nor by bribery, nor by favour, nor by obsequiousness, or any other crafty device, but that as far as I am concerned I took it upon me solely in obedience to the commands of my superiors, and that in so doing no charge was brought against me. Abbot Robert has become the superior of a convent in Calabria, at a great distance from our country, and there his wrath and hatred are still inflamed against me; and he continues to slander and threaten me, asserting that I have usurped his office con-

¹ Pope Alexander II., November 30, 1061—April 21, 1070.

trary to the laws of God. This schism is both full of danger to the souls of those who are placed under my charge, and places me in great perplexity between the two parties. For, on the one hand, I do not presume to disobey the bishops of my own province, who assert that I am regularly appointed, and enjoin me to hold my place; while, on the other hand, I dread the wrath and hatred of my accusing brother, especially as we are both priests and monks. As indeed the voice of an apostle thunders in our ears: 'He that hateth his brother is a murderer;' ¹ who can sufficiently express the greatness of the crime of a priest and a monk who hates his brother? And who does not know that if in this state of mind he presumes to offer the sacrifice of the altar, he perils his soul?

"Therefore, most apostolical lord, the venerable father of all Christendom, prostrate on the earth at the feet of your merciful benignity, I earnestly supplicate with tears and groans that you who occupy the place of St. Peter in vigilantly feeding the Lord's flock, and guarding them from the crafty devices of wolves, would be pleased in your zeal for God to abate by a righteous judgment this fierce controversy between me and the brother of whom I speak, and altogether remove the present perplexity from my mind. Accordingly, my prayer is, that by virtue of your authority you cause to appear both myself and those who took part in my consecration, together with Abbot Robert, my accuser, before fit and lawful judges, who shall impartially try the cause; so that, if it be found that I was rightly instituted to the office of abbot, I may continue to hold it; if improperly, I may surrender it. Graciously yielding to this my prayer, you will fulfil your office in a praiseworthy manner, and will conduct brothers into the way of peace. For whether it happens that I have to remain or to depart, my brother's anger will be set at rest by the decision of the judge, and I shall be freed from perplexity, and shall serve God in peace and security. O bishop of the bishops of the church, and father of fathers, the appointed refuge for all who are in tribulation, I beseech you by the holy power of binding and loosing which is vested in you over all mankind, listen to these my words of sincerity, and as far as I ask what is

¹ 1 John iii. 15.

right, grant what I ask. And that you may believe I speak the truth, I call the omniscient God as witness, who knows that in my conscience, the language of my mouth is that of my heart. In conclusion, most pious lord, I especially request in all humility that you will be pleased, of your paternal kindness, to reply by letter under your seal by the envoy I send, so that I may learn the success of my petition, and what course you will take in the matter, and when and where; and having obtained some certainty, my perplexities may be at an end, and I may rejoice that I have raised my voice to a most merciful comforter. Farewell! Glorious father, most excellent ruler, and supreme head of the church on earth; farewell! watch over the Lord's fold; which may you so do that you may meet the last judgment in security. Amen."

This letter was carried to Rome by William, priest of St. Andrew, at Echaufour, and presented to Pope Alexander. The venerable pontiff read it in the presence of the Roman conclave,¹ and having carefully examined the matter absolved Osbern at the request of abbot Robert who was there present, sending back the bearer of the letter rejoicing to his own country with the papal benediction. As for Robert, he now despaired of ever returning to Normandy on account of the wrath of duke William, and being honourably detained in Calabria, as already mentioned by Guiscard and the other Normans who had usurped foreign domains, his former indignation against Osbern was allayed, and he now kindly interceded with the pope for the man he had before cruelly attacked by his subtle accusations. William the priest, having accomplished his mission, returned in safety to those who had sent him, and rejoiced the hearts of the monks of St. Evroult by relating what he had seen and heard at Rome.

Osbern, now secure in his office, laudably occupied himself both in the interior and exterior duties which devolved upon him. He only admitted four novices to profession, on account of the persecution to which he had been subject, but he diligently and profitably instructed in the sacred arts those whom he found admitted by his predecessors. He instituted a yearly anniversary on the sixth of the

¹ Ordericus calls the assembly of the cardinals, *Romanus senatus*.

calends of July [26th] June, for the fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, of all the monks of St. Evroult. The names of all the brethren are registered on a long roll when, called by God, they first make their profession. To these were added, underneath, those of their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters. This roll was kept near the altar throughout the year, and an especial commemoration is made before God of the persons inscribed, when the priest says in celebrating the mass: *Animas famulorum, famularum tuarum, &c.*, "Vouchsafe to join to the society of thine elect the souls of thy servants, both men and women, whose names are written in the roll presented before thy holy altar." The anniversary on the sixth of the calends of July, of which we are now speaking, is thus conducted. All the bells are rung for some time, both night and morning, for the office of the dead. The roll of the deceased is spread open on the altar, and prayers are faithfully offered to God, first for the dead, and afterwards for living relations and benefactors, and all the faithful in Christ. The morning mass is solemnly sung by the abbot himself, assisted by all the clergy in their sacred vestments. The almoner assembles in the convent on that day as many indigent persons as there are monks, and the cellarer provides each with a sufficiency of meat and drink in the strangers' apartment, and after the chapter the whole community devotes itself to the service of the poor as in the Lord's supper. This institution of Abbot Osbern is still carefully maintained in the abbey of St. Evroult, and it is likewise zealously observed by the monks of Noyon¹ and Bocheville,² and others which follow its rules.

The man of God so often named had a particular regard, as I have said before, for the sick and the poor, supplying their wants liberally with all things necessary. He therefore ordered that seven lepers should, for the love of God, have a yearly maintenance from the abbey, and that the portions of seven monks should be daily distributed among them by the cellarer in meat and drink. This custom was

¹ Noyon-sur-Audelle, now Charleval, which was a priory under the rule of St. Evroult.

² St. George de Bocheville, an abbey two leagues from Rouen, which was affiliated to St. Evroult.

observed by abbot Osbern and his successor Mainer, as long as they lived; but when Serlo succeeded, as men's minds change, the institution was altered, and in the time of abbot Roger the number of the sick, in the name of the Lord, was reduced to three.

CH. VIII. *Duke William's invasion of Maine, under cover of protecting the interests of the young Count Herbert—Death of his aunt Bertha and her husband by poison, and of his sister Margaret, the young heiress.*

IN the year of our Lord 1064, on the death of Herbert the younger, count of Maine, duke William crossed the Sarthe with a strong army, and received with clemency many of the people of Maine, who submitted to him, remaining under his dominion for the rest of his life, that is, for twenty-four years. The young count, after the death of his father Herbert the elder¹ (who was commonly called Herbert Watch-dog, on account of the destructive inroads which his neighbours of Anjou continually made on his territories), by his mother Bertha's advice, placed himself and his estates under the protection of the powerful duke of Normandy,² affiancing his sister Margaret to the duke's son Robert, with the reversion of his earldom of Maine, if he himself should die without children. But Walter, count of Pontoise, son of Count Drogo, who had undertaken the journey to Jerusalem in company with Robert the elder, duke of Normandy, and died during his pilgrimage, had married Biota, daughter [sister] of Hugh, Count de Maine, who was the aunt of the young Count Herbert. In right of her he laid claim to the whole earldom, and had possession of part of it; for Geoffrey de-Mayenne and Hubert de Sainte-Susanne, and other powerful adherents of Walter, held the city, which is the capital of the province, fearing to submit to the yoke of the Normans, which is always grievous to those who are subjected to it. While therefore the brave duke attacked the rebels with vigour, inflicting and suffering losses, according to the lot of war, Count Walter and Biota his wife perished together, as the report is, by poison,

¹ Herbert I. was count du Maine from 1051 to 1062.

² Herbert II. was son of Hugh and grandson of Herbert I., counts of Maine. Duke William's invasion took place, not in 1064, but in 1063.

treacherously administered by the contrivance of their enemies.¹ On their death, the duke, now assured of success, attacked the rebels in great force, and recovered the city of Mans in triumph by the voluntary surrender of the inhabitants, the lord Arnold, the bishop, going out to meet him in great pomp, with a procession of clergy and monks carrying banners and crosses.

Meanwhile, Geoffrey de Mayenne, envying the duke's success, sought all the means in his power to injure him, by encouraging his enemies, and contriving various ways of inflicting evil. The duke bore his insolence for a while, that he might have an opportunity of punishing him without injury to others. But, as he persisted in his obstinacy, the duke put in motion a large force, and took his town of Ambrières, burning also Mayenne after a long siege. By reducing these two fortresses, he humbled the pride of Geoffrey, and thus compelled the most formidable of the nobles of Maine to do him homage, although he had persuaded other malcontents to join him in his resistance. On his submission, almost all his accomplices and the supporters of his rebellion were struck with consternation, and compelled to fear and obey William, a prince who was evidently protected by divine Providence. The duke entrusted the beautiful Margaret to the care of Stigand, the powerful baron of Mesidon, to be brought up in his family, but before she became marriageable, she was snatched away from the vanities of the world, and, dying happily, rests in peace, being buried at Fécamp, in the noble and flourishing monastery founded in honour of the holy and undivided Trinity.

At that time Robert de Gacé, son of Rodolph, son of Robert the archbishop, died childless, whereupon Duke William, his cousin, united his whole inheritance to his own domains. He also gave the lands of Robert de Vitot, who was banished for assassinating Count Gislebert [de Brionne], to Geoffrey Mancel, brother of the viscount Hubert; from

¹ This tragedy was performed at Falaise, where Duke William had carried Walter and his wife prisoners, a circumstance which, notwithstanding the reserve of Ordericus, sufficiently indicates by whose command the poison was administered. The duke's contemporaries, especially those who were opposed to him, spoke more plainly, and often told him the horror so foul a crime inspired, as we shall find in the sequel of this history.

whom the lord Osbern, abbot of St. Evreux, bought the vill called Douet-Artus, with Tronquet and Mesnil-Joscelin. Duke William granted and confirmed it by a charter in presence of the barons of Normandy, William Fitz-Osbern, Richard d'Avranches, son of Turstin, Roger de Montgomery, and many others mentioned in the charter.

However, Robert de Vitot, after some time reconciled himself with the duke, and, being restored to his lordship, laid claim to the land just mentioned against the abbey of St. Evroult, but not long afterwards the war with England, in which he was wounded in the cheek, being ended, he fell sick of a mortal disease. Finding his end approaching, he freely gave all the land which he claimed to the faithful servants of God for the repose of his soul. This gift to St. Evroult was made at Dover, before Odo, bishop of Baieux, Hugh de Grant-mesnil, Hugh de Montfort, and Hugh, son of Fulcold, and many other persons of high and low condition.

This knight had forty nephews, all proud of their rank of knighthood, and engaged in such fierce contests with each other, that his inheritance has scarcely ever been suffered to rest undisturbed to the present day: for Matthiel and Richard, his brother, Nigel, and Rualod the Breton, Nigel's son-in-law, succeeded at different times, and by their evil devices wrought much mischief. Every one of these claimed the lands before named from the abbey of St. Evroult, but the judgment of God who is everywhere the mighty protector of his church, compelled them to desist from their unjust attacks. It was Matthiel who, with great menaces, made the attempt to rob the church of her possessions during the reign of the great duke William; and Richard and other claimants during those of his brothers William Rufus and Henry; but the King of kings, helping his servants, they were unable to accomplish their wicked designs.

CH. IX. *Arnold d'Echoufour poisoned — Fortunes of the great family of Giroie in Normandy and Apulia after his death.*

ARNOLD D'ECHOUFOUR, son of William Giroie, returning successful from Apulia, presented himself at the court of

Duke William, and, offering him a magnificent mantle, humbly entreated that his inheritance might be restored. The duke, taking into consideration the high birth and distinguished valour of this nobleman, and his own great want of brave soldiers for his wars with the people of Maine, the Bretons, and his other enemies, took a more lenient view of his offences, and, making a truce with him, promised to restore his patrimony; meanwhile giving him free liberty of passing and repassing through his territories for a limited time. The duke's empty promises caused Arnold great satisfaction, but without just reason, as we shall presently see. For Mabel, the daughter of Talvac, poisoned the refreshments which she ordered to be set before him as he was returning from the court of the duke to France; but a friend of Arnold's gave him notice of the treachery intended. While, therefore, he was conferring with some of his friends at Echoufour, and was earnestly invited by Mabel's attendants to partake of the entertainment, he would on no account consent, remembering the friendly warning, and utterly refusing all meat and drink which he suspected to be poisoned. But Gislebert, the brother of Roger de Montgomery, who had conducted him there, and was quite unconscious of the treacherous design, took a cup, without dismounting from his horse, and, drinking the poisoned wine, died in consequence on the third day afterwards at Remalord: so that this perfidious woman, attempting to destroy her husband's rival, caused the death of his only brother, who was in the flower of his youth, and much distinguished for his chivalrous gallantry. Not long afterwards, lamenting the failure of her first attempt, she made another not less deadly effort to accomplish the object of her desires. By means of prayers and promises she worked on Gulafre,¹ Arnold's chamberlain, till she had bent the false retainer to her nefarious wishes. She then prepared the poisoned drink, which the chamberlain presented to his master, and to Giroie de Courville,² and William, surnamed Gouet de Montmirail. Thus the three nobles imbibed the venom of the poison at Courville, at one and the same time; but Giroie and William, who were carried to their own homes, where

¹ This worthy has been mentioned before, p. 436.

² Courville, near Chartres.

they could command all necessary care, by the mercy of God aiding the skill of the physician, recovered, while Arnold, who, as a banished man, had no means of securing proper attentions in the house of a stranger, languished for some days, and at length, the disorder increasing, breathed his last on the calends [1st] of January. The day before he died, being alone in his chamber in bed, he saw clearly, and not in a dream, an old man of a noble presence, whom he took for St. Nicholas, who addressed him to this effect: "Brother, trouble yourself not about your bodily health, for it is certain that you will die to-morrow, but direct your utmost efforts towards saving your soul, at the scrutiny of the just and eternal Judge." With these words the old man suddenly vanished, whereupon the sufferer sent immediately to St. Evroult to request that some of the brethren of the abbey would visit him. Without delay they sent Fulk de Guernauville to Courville. It was there that the knight of whom we are speaking spent three years during his exile, with Giroie, the lord of that town, who was his kinsman and friend, and from thence, with the aid of the people of Corbon, Dreux, and Mortagne, and all others he could summon to his assistance, he carried on a desperate warfare to revenge his banishment. The sick man rejoiced greatly at Fulk's speedy arrival, and, making known to him the vision which he had seen the day before, he renounced the world, and professed himself a monk with a tender devotion of soul. Then, lamenting his sins, he died the same day, and his body was carried to St. Evroult, and there honourably interred by the lord abbot Osbern and the whole community in the monks' cloister.

On the death of Arnold, the noble family of Giroie fell entirely to decay, and, to this day, no one of their posterity has been able to recover the rank of his ancestors. Arnold had married Emma, daughter of Turstin, surnamed Haldue, by whom he had William and Reginald, Petronilla and Geva, and other sons and daughters. Thus, losing their father in their tender years, when he was in the flower of his youth, and being settled in the houses of strangers, as we have already noticed, they were exposed from infancy to poverty, and all sorts of mortifications. Their mother found a refuge with her brother Odo, steward of the duke of Normandy,

who dwelt in the Cotentin, and was distinguished for his wealth and power among the Norman nobles. She lived with him and her other friends almost thirty years in honoured widowhood, being greatly respected for her chastity, gentleness, and other good qualities; and towards the close of her life, renounced the world, and took the veil with much devotion at the hands of the lord Robert, abbot of the Holy Trinity, at Lessai.¹

William d'Echaufour, the eldest of Arnold's sons, had scarcely arrived at the age of puberty when he repaired to the court of Philip, king of France, who appointed him his squire, and afterwards knighted him for his good service. He afterwards went into Apulia, where he had kinsmen of high rank, and, being kindly entertained, advanced himself greatly by his gallant actions. He took to wife a noble lady of a Lombard family, and obtained possession of thirty castles under Robert, count of Loritello, Guiscard's nephew.² The marriage was fruitful, and he had many children of both sexes, and, forgetting Normandy, lived almost forty years among the Lombards in great honour.

Reginald, the youngest son of Arnold, had been entrusted by his father, three months before his death, to Abbot Osbern, and was carefully educated at St. Evroult under the regular discipline of the abbey, receiving from the abbot the surname of Benedict, on account of his sweetness of disposition. His father, on offering him to God as a monk, had granted a plough-land at St. Germain's, in the parish of Echaufour, to the abbey of St. Evroult, which it long since lost, in the troubles to which Arnold and his heirs were exposed, as already related. The youth was only five years old when he submitted to the monastic yoke, which he has steadfastly borne for fifty-two years,³ under four successive abbots, both in prosperity and adversity. He fully learned the arts of reading and singing, which he taught to others without any mistakes, when he arrived himself at mature years. His vigorous memory enabled him to relate with

¹ Roger, from whose hands Emma received the veil, was a monk of Bec, and first abbot of Lissai in the diocese of Coutances, 1056—1094.

² Robert de Loritello, son of Geoffrey, Robert Guiscard's brother, and count of the Capitanata. Loritello, now called Rotello, is a royal domain, near Lucera.

³ This was written in 1115 or 1116.

great fulness whatever he had seen or heard, and his companions were frequently charmed with his recitals from the sacred scriptures, and the statements of the learned. It was his study to gain the affections of the gentle, and modest, and teachable among the neophytes, by his affability and condescension; but he stoutly contradicted the conceited, and pretenders, and inventors of novelties. Twice he undertook journeys, by permission of Abbot Roger, and for the behests of the abbey of St. Evroult, as far as Apulia, and in that foreign land found his brother William, and many other relations possessed of great wealth. He remained nearly three years in Calabria, with William, abbot of St. Euphemia,¹ son of Humfrey de Tilleul, and on his return brought back a cope of purple and white, the gift of Abbot Humfrey, who was his cousin, to the church of St. Evroult. From his infancy, Reginald observed the monastic rules with praiseworthy regularity, and zealously assisted at the offices of divine worship, both in the day and the night. I have often remarked him performing the chant with such indefatigable zeal that scarcely a single versicle was sung in the choir by others, in which he did not take a part. But as it is written: "Many are the sorrows of the righteous,"² he suffered much tribulation, both from within and without. For, being firm and severe to the froward, and disdaining to flatter the hypocritical, he was frequently subject to their attacks of various kinds. The eye of God seeth all things, and condemns with discriminating judgment even those which to men appear laudable, and he has afflicted our brother Reginald with infirmity of body from his infancy, and that the just may be further justified, continues to this time, to increase the weakness of his limbs. While he was yet a boy, as he never spared himself, and seemed stronger for every kind of labour than the rest of the brotherhood, he ruptured himself while carrying earth, and, not allowing himself any rest, the hernia became incurable. In short, he has now for seven years suffered such extreme torture, that he is neither able to raise his hand to his mouth, nor to do any office for himself without assistance. Almighty God, who healest those who are broken in heart, have mercy upon him! Purge him from all stain of sin,

¹ See before, b. iii. c. 5.

² Psalm vii. 20.

deliver him from the irksome prison of the flesh, and admit him into the company of thy servants in rest eternal!

The two daughters of Arnold, on the death of their father, and their consequent destitution, chose rather to render themselves acceptable to God by their modest conversation, than to attain worldly prosperity by the perishing charms of their personal beauty. Both, therefore, dedicated their virginity to the Lord, and gave up the world to become nuns. Petronilla took the veil in the convent of St. Mary, at Angers, for a long time diligently observing the rules submitted to by consecrated virgins; and afterwards for ten years within the enclosure, she became remarkable far and wide by her character for her sanctity and her exemplary virtues. Her sister Geva, taking the veil under the abbess Beatrice, in the convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen, founded by Queen Matilda, long practised and taught the holy rule, to her own profit and that of others.¹

CH. X. *The castle of Neuf-Marché in the Beauvais committed to the custody of Hugh de Grant-mesnil—Events there—Death of Osbern, abbot of St. Evroult.*

WILLIAM, the illustrious marquis of Normandy, finding that the people of Beauvais were making efforts to ravage the borders of his territory, expelled Geoffrey, the lawful heir, from the castle of Neuf-Marché,² for some trivial offence, and entrusted the defence of it to several of his barons; but, by reason of the continual inroads of the people of Milli, and Gerberoi,³ and other neighbours, hardly any one of them was able to hold it for a single year. At length the great duke committed the castle to Hugh de Grant-mesnil, who was eminent for skill and courage, joining with him Gerold, his high steward, and granting to Hugh one moiety of the fief. He did this by the advice of Roger de Montgomery, who was jealous of a bravery too nearly resembling his own, and sought to bring him into disgrace by some device or

¹ Beatrix de Hugueville, the fifth abbess of the Holy Trinity at Caen, governed the convent at the time our author wrote.

² Marquis of Normandy, see note, p. 397. Le Neuf-Marché-en-Lions. The ruins of this castle are remarkable for the vast size of the stones of which the foundations were built.

³ Milli, a town two leagues N.W. of Beauvais. The celebrated castle of Gerberoi stands a league and a half N.E. of Gournai.

occurrence. Hugh, however, thankfully accepted the custody of the fortress, and, by God's help, in the course of a year, took two of the chief leaders of the men of Beauvais prisoners, and, striking terror into the rest of the enemy, restored tranquillity through all the country in that quarter.

Four canons were in possession of the church of St. Peter the apostle at Neuf-Marché, but they were negligent in the performance of divine worship, and led a very worldly life. The noble Hugh, therefore, gave the moiety of the church which belonged to him to the abbey of St. Evroult, upon the terms that, upon the death of the canons, or their avoidance from any other cause, they should be succeeded by monks: which was carried into effect. For two of the canons who had been instituted to the portion held by Hugh, taking their departure, monks were appointed in their place, and have continued in possession of a moiety of the preferment to the present day; Robert the Bald, Ralph de la Roussière, and John de Beaunai, and other excellent men, resided there.

On a certain occasion there was a violent quarrel between Count Hugh, so often named, and Ralph, count of Mantes, father-in-law of Philip, king of France,¹ and Hugh, boldly encountering the count of Mantes with inferior forces, was compelled to retreat. In the flight Richard de Heudicourt, of the Vexin, was wounded; for, urging his horse to full speed at the ford of the river Epte, he received in his back a sharp thrust, by the lance of a knight who pursued him. Being carried by his comrades to Neuf-Marché, and fearing he should die, by the advice of Count Hugh, to whose family he was attached by military services, he vowed that in future he would serve under the monastic rule in the exercises of virtue. He therefore sent for the monks of St. Evroult, and put himself under the government of Abbot Osbern. Afterwards, by the mercy of God, who, in different ways snatches sinners from the pit of destruction, he somewhat recovered his health, though it was never entirely restored, living for seven years a zealous member of the order, and benefiting the church in various

¹ Ralph, count de Cressi and Valois, married, in 1062, Agnes, wife of Henry I., king of France, and died in 1074.

ways. Having neither wife nor child, he, after his being wounded, voluntarily ceded his patrimony in the Vexin to the church of St. Evroult, and procured from his uncle Fulk, and Herbert the butler (who was lord of the fief), as well as from his other relations, the entire surrender of their interest in the property. His wound was never entirely closed, and there issued from it daily, so those who were witnesses report, as much matter as would fill the egg of a goose; he zealously observed the conventual rules, and cheerfully performed the duties of his order. He went either on foot or on horseback wherever he was ordered, on the business of the convent, which he forwarded both by word and deed to the utmost of his ability. In consequence, Abbot Osbern esteemed him more than the other monks, and placed entire confidence in him, so that when he planned the new church, which he commenced building, he made him the overseer of the works, with the charge of the expenditure, and the superintendence of the stone-cutters.

At the instance of this Richard, and by his advice, Abbot Osbern undertook a journey to France, and made the acquaintance, through his agreeable conversation, of the eloquent Robert, and of Herbert de Serranz, and Fulk de Chaudri, with other knights and persons of inferior rank in the Vexin, and took possession of the domain of Heudicourt for the abbey of St. Evroult, with the consent and approbation of the aforesaid nobles and their neighbours. On his return he took to his bed, and, his sickness increasing, he caused himself to be carried into the chapter, and ordered the letter, which, as before mentioned he addressed to Pope Alexander, to be distinctly read. This he did that all might clearly understand that he had not usurped the rights of Abbot Robert, but had undertaken the government of the abbey against his own wishes, but in compulsory obedience to the will of others. He then strengthened the brethren by his exhortations, entreating them to regard his errors with indulgence, and to cherish his memory. And so, having made his confession and partaken of the holy communion of the body of our Lord, he expired, surrounded by the monks devoutly chanting litanies for him, on the sixth of the calends of June [27th May],¹ having

¹ May 27, 1066.

governed the abbey of St. Evroult five years and three months. On the morrow, Vitalis, abbot of Bernai, came to bury his friend, and interred him in the cloister of the monastery, near the church of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, from whence, seventeen years afterwards, his successor Mainer transferred his remains, with the bones of Witmund, his companion, into the new chapter-house.

CH. XI. *Death of Edward the confessor—Duke William's preparations for the invasion of England.*

IN the year of our Lord 1066 [the fourth indiction], in the month of April, there appeared in the zodiac, for fifteen days together, a star called a comet,¹ which, as clever astrologers, who have keenly investigated the secrets of nature, assert, portended a revolution. For Edward, king of England, the son of King Ethelred by Emma, daughter of Richard the elder, king of Normandy, had died just before,² and Harold, Earl Godwin's son, had usurped the English throne. Guilty as he was of perjury, cruelty, and other iniquities, he had now held it three months, to the great injury of many persons, inasmuch as his unjust usurpation had occasioned violent animosities between different families, from which mothers had to bewail the loss of their sons, and wives of their husbands. There is no doubt that Edward had bequeathed the realm of England to his kinsman William, duke of Normandy, announcing it, first by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury,³ and afterwards by Harold himself, and, with the consent of the English, making the duke heir to all his rights.⁴ Moreover Harold had taken the oath of allegiance

¹ This celebrated comet was visible not only throughout the whole of Europe, but even in China, where it was observed for sixty-seven days. It appears that it was first seen in the west of Europe, on the evening of the 24th of April. It is rudely figured on the Bayeux tapestry.

² On the 5th of January, 1066.

³ Robert Champart, abbot of Jumièges in 1037, was successively bishop of London in 1044, and archbishop of Canterbury in 1050. Being expelled from his see by Earl Godwin in 1052, he undertook a journey to Rome to appeal to the pope, who decided in his favour; but he died at Jumièges on his return, and was buried there on the gospel, or north, side of the choir.

⁴ "Harold's visit to Normandy, which we are inclined to fix in the year 1063, had no such object as coming to an understanding with William for securing him the crown of England after King Edward's death, as our author represents, its design being to obtain the release of his brother and

to duke William at Rouen, in the presence of the nobles of Normandy, and doing him homage had sworn on the holy relics to all that was required of him.¹ After that, the duke took Harold with him in an expedition against Conan, count of Brittany,² presenting him and his retinue with noble war

nephew, who had been detained as hostages at the duke's court from the time of his father, Earl Godwin's, revolt. The assertion that Edward's intentions were made known to his subjects, and received their concurrence, is equally unfounded; but, notwithstanding, we have no sort of doubt of the reality of Edward's intentions, fomented, probably, by Archbishop Robert, who became his confidant. It appears quite natural that Edward, brought up in Normandy, a Norman in heart and manners, and continually surrounded by Norman ecclesiastics, should prefer bequeathing his crown to his cousin, with whom he had so many common sympathies, than to an offset of a family with which he was ever at variance, and his aversion to which he had never disguised. Our author has seriously erred in blindly following the Norman traditions regarding the circumstances which paved the way for the conquest of England. But those are not much nearer the truth who adopt without discrimination all the counter statements of the Anglo-Saxon writers, as is now the fashion."

The note of the French editors so well represents the state of the case, that there is little to add from what they seem to suppose an opposite point of view. There is little doubt of Edward's prepossessions in favour of the Norman succession, but the assertion of his having given them effect by any overt act, might have been more distinctly disclaimed. Edward's constitutional prudence and timidity would prevent its being wrung from him by the Norman archbishop even in his last moments, nor whatever may have been the value of either, does the supposed declaration in favour of Harold rest on a better foundation.

On the whole, the English writers nearest the times, offer little in opposition to the account given by the Norman historians. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Henry of Huntingdon, and Roger of Wendover, observe a prudent silence, but Florence of Worcester and Roger of Hovenden say that Edward before his death chose Harold for his successor. Of the three competitors for the crown, probably Edgar Atheling was the popular favourite, and Malmsbury states that Edward had actually "recommended him to the nobility as the nearest to the sovereignty in point of birth."

¹ The fact of William having wrung an oath of fealty from Harold on the holy relics, is so well attested that it is impossible to dispute it. Harold himself admitted it in a message to William, reported by Malmesbury, but took the ground that an obligation contracted under duress was not binding. Writers agree far less on the place where the ceremony was performed. Wace makes it Baieux; our author Rouen; but William de Poitiers, a contemporary historian, is probably right; he fixes it at Bonneville-sur-Tonque, a palace where the duke often resided, and near the cathedral of which William de Poitiers was archdeacon.

² Conan II., duke of Brittany, 1040—1066. The Baieux tapestry represents several curious details of this expedition.

horses, splendid armour, and other gifts of value, in the presence of the army. This Englishman was distinguished by his great size and strength of body, his polished manners, his firmness of mind and command of words, by a ready wit and a variety of excellent qualities. But what availed so many valuable gifts, when good faith, the foundation of all virtues, was wanting? Returning to his country, his ambition tempted him to aspire to the crown, and to forfeit the fealty he had sworn to his lord. He imposed upon King Edward, who was in the last stage of decay, approaching his end, by the account he gave of his crossing the sea, his journey to Normandy, and the result of his mission, falsely adding that Duke William would give him his daughter in marriage,¹ and concede to him, as his son-in-law, all his right to the throne of England. The feeble prince was much surprised at this statement; however, he believed it, and granted all the crafty tyrant asked.

Some time afterwards, King Edward, of pious memory, died at London on the nones [fifth] of January, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was interred in the new monastery which he had just built on the western side of the city, and at the consecration of which he had been present the week before. His body was laid near the altar which St. Peter the apostle had blessed with the working of miracles in the time of Mellitus, bishop of London. On the very day of the funeral, when the people were bathed in tears for the loss of their beloved king, Harold caused himself to be crowned by Archbishop Stigand alone,² though the pope had suspended him from his functions for certain crimes, without the concurrence of any other bishops and the earls and barons of the realm. When the English were apprized of the bold usurpation effected by Harold, they were very indignant and some of the most powerful lords, resolved on an obstinate resistance, refused to offer

¹ This part of Harold's statement which alleges his being affianced to Agatha, William's eldest daughter, was correct, as our author, contradicting himself, admits in the fifth book of his history.

² This is a common error of the Norman historians; Harold was crowned by Aldred, archbishop of York. Stigand was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1053, but did not obtain the pall from Rome till 1058.

him any token of submission. Others, not knowing how to free themselves from the yoke imposed upon them, which soon became firmly fixed, and, on the other hand, considering that they could neither depose him, nor while he held the reigns of government set up another king to the advantage of the realm, submitted to the usurpation, consolidating the power which he had already established. In a short time the throne which had been iniquitously seized was stained by horrible crimes.

The earls Edwin and Morcar, sons of Algar the first of the English earls, were attached by the strictest ties to Harold, and employed all their efforts to support his cause, he having married their sister Edith, who had been the queen of Griffith a powerful king of Wales, to whom she bore Blethyn, his successor, and a daughter named Nesta.¹ Tostig, however, Earl Godwin's son, finding that his brother's enterprise proved successful, and that the kingdom of England was subject to great oppression, was much distressed, and determined to oppose him and even to levy war against him. Wherefore Harold violently deprived him of his father's earldom, which as eldest son he had held for sometime during the reign of Edward,² and drove him into exile. Tostig, thus banished, took refuge in Flanders, where he committed his wife Judith to the care of his father-in-law Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and then hastening to Normandy strongly remonstrated with Duke William for

¹ Edith was not married to Griffith-ap-Llewellyn, king of North Wales, but he had a daughter named Nesta, who after running off with Fleance, son of Banquo, one of the characters in *Macbeth*, by whom she had Walter Stewart, married Trahern-ap-Caradoc, who succeeded Griffith after the death of that king's brothers, Blethyn and Rhywallon. Our author appears to have mistaken Blethyn for a son of Griffith, because he was his immediate successor. Edith seems to have been remarkable for her great beauty. She is called in the Domesday Book *Edeva pulchra*, *Edeva faira*, while the name of *Edded regina* is reserved for the widow of Edward the Confessor. Nesta had a daughter of her own name, who married Bernard du Neuf-Marché.

² Tostig never obtained his father's earldom, consisting of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent, which was granted to Harold immediately after Godwin's death. Tostig succeeded Siward in the earldom of Northumbria, from which he was expelled in 1065 by the indignation of the inhabitants at his murders and exactions. It was at Bruges that he placed his wife under her father's protection.

suffering his perjured vassal to usurp the crown of England, which he pledged himself the duke would secure if he crossed the channel with a Norman army. These princes had been long attached to each other, having married two sisters, through whom their regard was frequently revived. William therefore received his companion with open arms, and thanking him for his friendly suggestions, and roused by his exhortations, assembled the barons of Normandy to consult with them publicly on what was to be done with regard to an enterprise of such vast importance.

At that time Normandy was favoured by possessing many accomplished prelates and illustrious nobles. Maurilius, who from a monk became a metropolitan, was archbishop of Rouen; Odo, the duke's uterine brother, was bishop of Baieux; Hugh, brother of Robert Count d'Eu, was bishop of Lisieux; William of Evreux; Geoffrey of Coutances; John, son of Ralph, count of Bayeux, was bishop of Avranches; and Ivo, son of William de Belesme, of Séez.¹ All these prelates were distinguished by the splendour of their noble extraction, their zeal for religion, and their many excellencies.

Foremost in the ranks of the laity stood Richard, count of Evreux, son of Archbishop Robert; Count Robert, son of William viscount d'Eu; Robert, earl of Morton, uterine brother of Duke William; Rodolph de Conches, son of Roger Toni, standard-bearer of Normandy; William Fitz-Osbern, the duke's cousin and high steward; William de Warrene, and Hugh Boteler; Hugh de Grant-mesnil and Roger de Moubray; Roger de Beaumont, and Roger de Montgomery; Baldwin and Richard, sons of Count Gislebert,²

¹ Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, Sept. 1055—August 9, 1067; Odo, bishop of Baieux, 1049—February, 1099; Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, 1049—July 17, 1077; William Fleitel, bishop of Evreux, 1046—February 11, 1066; Geoffrey de Moubray, bishop of Coutances, April, 1048—February, 1093; John, son of Ralph, count of Ivri, bishop of Avranches, September, 1060—1067; Ivo de Belesme, bishop of Séez, 1035—1070.

² Almost all the persons enumerated were relations of the duke of Normandy, besides those expressly so described by Ordericus. Thus the counts of Evreux and Eu were his uncles by the custom of Brittany; the standard bearer was son-in-law of the count of Evreux; William Warrene was also the duke's uncle, according to the custom of Brittany; Roger de Beaumont and Roger de Montgomery's father were cousins-german of Duke Robert, and Baldwin de Meelus and Richard de Bienfaits cousins-german of Duke William.

with many others whose valour had gained them military distinction, and whose native sagacity and decision in council were not inferior to the matured virtues of the Roman senate, but aspired to imitate them both in their indefatigable constancy, and the talent and courage they employed in conquering their enemies.

All these were summoned by the duke's command to a general consultation; and upon an affair of so much importance being submitted to their consideration, opinions were divided according to the differences in men's minds. The more daring spirits, willing to flatter the duke's ambition, encouraged their comrades to plunge into the contest, and were for engaging in so great an enterprise without hesitation. Others were opposed to an undertaking of so much difficulty, pointing out to those who were too venturesome, and were running headlong to destruction, its great inconveniences and perils; they magnified the obstacles presented by the want of a fleet and the dangers of the voyage, and alleged that a handful of Normans were unequal to the conquest of the numerous hosts of the English.¹ At length the duke sent Gislebert,² archdeacon of Lisieux, to Rome, to ask for advice from Pope Alexander on the state of affairs. On hearing all the circumstances, the pope favoured the legitimate rights of the duke, enjoined him to take up arms against the perjurer, and sent him the standard of St. Peter the apostle, by whose merits he would be defended against all dangers.

Meanwhile, Tostig received the duke's permission to return to England, having firmly engaged to assist him, both in his own person and with all his friends. But as it is written: "Man proposes, but God disposes,"³ things

¹ Henry of Huntingdon relates a curious story, the gossip perhaps of the day, of the manner in which the malcontents were entrapped by Fitz-Osbern, the duke's favourite, into giving their consent to join in the expedition.—*History*, b. vi. p. 208.

² Probably Gislebert Maminot, son of Robert de Courbepine, and who was bishop of Lisieux, in 1077; as he was much trusted by the duke, serving him in the joint offices of chaplain and physician. It was perhaps from him that the bishops of Lisieux inherited the dignity of almoner of the dukes of Normandy, with the important exemption attached to it.

³ This proverb is not to be found in the bible, as our author seems to intimate.

turned out very differently from what he expected. For embarking from the Cotentin,¹ he was unable to reach England. Harold held possession of the channel with a large fleet and the coasts with strong bodies of troops, in order to prevent the enemy from landing in the kingdom he had treacherously usurped without a severe conflict. Tostig was therefore in great perplexity, it being out of his power to make a hostile descent on England with his small force in the face of innumerable enemies, nor could he direct his course back to Normandy, the winds being contrary. Driven to and fro alternately by winds from the west, the south, and other quarters, he was exposed to great distress and encountered many perils while wandering over the sea, until at last, after severe sufferings, he landed in the dominions of Harold, king of Norway, surnamed Harfager.² Being well received by this prince, and perceiving that he could not fulfil the promises he had made to Duke William, he altered his plans, and thus addressed him: "Great king, I come a suppliant to your highness, offering myself and my faithful services to your majesty, in the hopes that, by your aid, I may be restored to my hereditary rights. My brother Harold, who in truth ought to submit to me as his elder brother, has treacherously magnified himself against me, and even presumed, at the price of perjury, to usurp the English crown. Knowing therefore, your pre-eminence in power, and in forces, and every excellence, I earnestly entreat you, as one prepared to do you homage, to render me your powerful assistance. Humble the pride of my perfidious brother by a hostile invasion of England; and reserving one half of it for yourself, confer the other on me, who will thenceforth preserve my fealty to you unbroken as long as I live." The ambitious king was highly pleased at this proposal. He immediately ordered an army to be assembled, warlike engines to be prepared, and the royal fleet was, during the six months following, completely equipped. The exiled wanderer encouraged the Norwegian king to this great enterprise, and by this skilful change in

¹ Probably from Barfleur, about the time of the spring equinox.

² Harold Harfager, or Hare-foot, was contemporary with Rollo, and lived a century before these times. It was Harold Hardraade, or The Hardy, the third of the name, who was king of Norway from 1045—1066.

his plans, while it flattered the king and saved himself from being treated as a spy, afforded him the opportunity of obtaining revenge for his banishment by his faithless brother.

Meanwhile, the marquis of Normandy was making preparations for his own enterprise, uninformed of the disasters which had befallen his precursor, and had driven him northward so far out of his intended course. A fleet of ships was carefully fitted out in Normandy, supplied with all necessaries, in building which both the clergy and laity rivalled each other in contributing both funds and labour.¹ Large bodies of troops were raised by a general levy throughout Normandy. Reports of the expedition drew many valiant men from the neighbouring countries, who prepared their arms for battle. Thus the French and Bretons, the Poitevins and Burgundians, and other people on this side the Alps, flocked together for the war over the sea, and scenting the booty which the conquest of Britain offered, were prepared to undergo the various perils and chances, both by sea and land, attending the enterprise.

¹ William de Poitiers tells us that the duke's fleet, assembling at Dive, sailed from thence to St. Valeri-sur-Somme; and it is therefore probable that his ships were built and fitted out at Dive and the neighbouring ports. Taylor has published a curious MS. containing an account of the number furnished by the duke's principal vassals, lay and ecclesiastic. In this muster-roll, William Fitz-Osbern, and Hugh d'Avranches, and Roger de Montgomery, each figure for sixty ships; Hugh de Montfort for fifty ships and sixty knights; and the other barons for lesser numbers, varying probably according to their means and zeal. Among the quota supplied by ecclesiastics, we find Remi, afterwards made bishop of Lincoln, on the list, with the modest contribution of one ship and twenty knights, while Nicholas, abbot of St. Ouen, a cousin-german of the duke's, contributed twenty ships and one hundred knights, and Odo, bishop of Baieux, the duke's uterine brother, no less than one hundred ships, the largest number furnished by any individual except Robert, earl of Mortagne, also the duke's brother, whose quota was one hundred and twenty. The whole number enumerated mounts up to 782. William of Jumièges says that William's fleet consisted of 3000 vessels, which must be a great exaggeration, small as most of them probably were. Guy of Amiens reckons 400 ships with large sails, and 1000 transports. The duchess Matilda furnished the vessel in which the duke himself embarked. It was called the Mora, and had for its figure-head the image of a child, gilt, pointing with its right hand towards England, and having in its mouth a trumpet of ivory.

CH. XII. *Mainier appointed abbot of St. Evroult, and Lanfranc of St. Ouen—A new church and other buildings erected at St. Evroult—The monks farm and reclaim a barren estate in the Vexin.*

WHILE these transactions were taking place, Osbern, abbot of St. Evroult, departed this life, as already related, and the chapter of the monks consulted the duke, before he crossed the sea, about appointing a successor. He was then holding a council of his nobles at Bonneville.¹ In consequence, by the advice of Bishop Hugh and other prudent counsellors, he chose the prior Mainier, and invested him with the temporalities of the abbey by the delivery of the pastoral staff, commanding him to have the forms which should commit to him the cure of souls duly complied with; all which he willingly performed.

On the same day,² the duke commanded the lord Lanfranc, prior of Bec, to appear before him, and gave him the abbey which he himself had just nobly founded at Caen in honour of St. Stephen the proto-martyr. Lanfranc was therefore the first abbot of Caen, but shortly afterwards he was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He was a native of Lombardy, deeply versed in the knowledge of the liberal arts, gifted with benevolence, generosity, and all the sacred virtues, and ceaselessly intent on almsgiving and other good works. Indeed, from the day already mentioned, when at Bonneville he was first raised to rule in the church, for twenty-two years and nine months he was nobly distinguished for the good to multitudes of the faithful in the house of God.

By the duke's command, the venerable Bishop Hugh conducted Mainier, the Lord's servant, to St. Evroult, and there consecrated him according to the statutes of the canons before the altar of St. Peter the apostle, on the seventeenth of the calends of August [July 16th]. Mainier, having thus taken on him the name and office of abbot,

¹ This place is mentioned in a note to ch. xi. as a favourite residence of the duke. It was the most centrally situated of all his palaces, and was very convenient at this time for superintending and hastening the equipment of his fleet.

² Probably at the end of June, or the beginning of July, 1066.

lived worthily, administering the government twenty-two years and seven months with great usefulness, for, by God's help, he made great improvements in the monastery committed to him, both within and without. He skilfully succeeded, by his kindness of manner and reasonable arguments, in satisfying the brethren who were somewhat disturbed at his election. They had selected for their governors two monks, eminent for their piety and their erudition of both sorts, Reginald de la Roche and Fulk de Guernauville, and were, therefore, at no little variance with the abbot who was set over them, without their concurrence, by the bishop and their neighbours. Often, on occasions of this sort, disturbances are made by the worst of persons; for while the perverse strive earnestly to give the preference to their own opinions, regular order and sounder counsels are hindered. But Almighty God extends his powerful protection to his church in all difficulties, correcting those who are in error, and mercifully lending the aid which is needed, in the manner and by the persons he seeth fit. His good providence it was, as will hereafter plainly appear, which raised Mainier to the government of the abbey of St. Evroult, standing as it did in a barren territory and surrounded by most worthless neighbours. Mainier was born in the adjoining town of Echaufour, he was an accomplished scholar in grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric; skilful and severe in eradicating vices, he was zealous in inculcating virtue among the brethren. A diligent observer of the monastic rule, he pointed out the way of life both by word and deed to those who were committed to his charge, and encouraged many to work in the Lord's vineyard, both by being their leader and their anxious companion.

Mainier began building the new church dedicated to St. Mary, mother of God, St. Peter the apostle, and St. Evroult the confessor, in which are seven altars consecrated to the divine majesty in honour of his saints. For the old church which St. Evroult had founded in honour of the prince of the apostles, when Chilperic and his nephew Hildebert were kings of the Franks,¹ was much dilapidated by the great

¹ It has been remarked before, that St. Evroult retired to the vast solitudes of the forest of Ouche about the year 560; he died there the 29th

age, and was too small for the number of the monks, which was continually increasing. A building of stone at Ouche is a very laborious undertaking, because the quarry of Merlerault from whence the hewn stones are brought, is six miles distant.¹ The overseer of the work had therefore the greatest difficulty to procure horses, oxen, and carts, for the transport of the masses of stone and other materials required for so large a work. This abbot had not a moment's repose during the whole time of his rule; but by his great anxiety for numerous objects, rendered important services, both to the community then governed by him and their successors. By God's help and the contributions and munificence of the brethren and his friends he completed the building of a spacious and beautiful church, conveniently adapted for celebrating divine service, a dormitory and refectory, kitchen, and cellar, with other necessary offices for the use of the monks. Among others, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, when he assisted at the consecration of the church of Caen, in the twelfth year after the war with England,² remitted to abbot Mainier twenty-four pounds of English money and two marks of gold, and he afterwards sent over from Canterbury forty pounds sterling by the hands of the lord Roger de Sap, who was known and esteemed by him for his learning. With these donations the abbey tower was carried up, and the dormitory for the monks built. Queen Matilda gave a rich mitre and cope for divine service, and one hundred pounds of Rouen currency to build the refectory. William de Ros, clerk of Baieux, who held three dignities in that church, being precentor, dean, and archdeacon,³ gave forty pounds sterling to the monks of St. Evroult. Not long afterwards he voluntarily relin-

of December, 596. If he built his church during the reigns of Childeric and his nephew Childebert, it must have been some time between the year 575, when Childeric succeeded his father, and the autumn of 584, in which Childebert was assassinated.

¹ The quarries of Merlerault here mentioned are about 9000 toises from St. Evroult. The miles, therefore, must be about 1500 toises (of two English yards each) long, or three quarters of a post league. The roads must have indeed been almost impracticable at that time in a country so intersected with forests and swamps.

² This consecration was performed on the 13th of September, 1077.

³ Afterwards the third abbot of Fécamp, from 1079 to 1108.

quished the grandeur of the world, and became a monk at Caen, from whence he was preferred to the government of the abbey of Fécamp before he had completed the first year of his monastic profession. His name is inscribed in the register of the monks of St. Evroult, for the many benefits he conferred on the abbey, and masses, prayers, and alms were appointed for him as if he had been a brother there professed. It was by the help of these and other contributors that the fabric of the new church was raised, and the work begun both in that and the abbey buildings was nobly finished.

During the government of abbot Mainier, ninety monks of various ranks and conditions, whose names are inscribed in the general register, put off the secular habit in the school of St. Evroult, and inspired by the counsels and example of excellent men, undertook to walk in the difficult path which leads to salvation. Some of these obtained the prize of their holy conversation during the lifetime of their venerable father; others remained longer in their religious course steadfastly maintaining a protracted contest, and striving to render themselves acceptable to God by their prayers, and useful to men by their good works. Some who were of noble families contributed largely to the support of the monastery, and procured from their relations, acquaintance, and friends, donations of tithes and churches and ecclesiastical ornaments for the use of the brethren. It is quite out of my power to describe particularly the gifts made by each individual to their cherished abbey, but I wish with God's help, to record some of them faithfully, as far as my opportunities of reference permit, for the general good and the information of posterity.

Roger de Hautrive, the senior monk, by order of abbot Rainier, went into the Vexin to take possession of Heudicourt, the domain which the wounded knight gave to St. Evroult, as I have before related, but he found the land uncultivated, and almost a desert. In the first place he erected an oratory with boughs of trees in honour of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myrrha, from whence the village which now stands on the spot is called by the inhabitants to this day the chapel of St. Nicholas. It often happened in the night that while Roger de Hautrive, as he himself used to

relate, was singing matins in his chapel of boughs a wolf took his station without, and as it were, responded to the chant by his howlings. This venerable man, divinely supported, attached to himself by ties of regard Herbert the Butler, who after the death of his cousin Herbert, who was brother of Richard the wounded knight, gave one moiety of his fief to St. Evroult. There Roger de Hautrive laboured, with the assistance of his generous friend, until he had brought under cultivation the land which for a long season had been deserted on account of the war and other calamities; and there Roger de Sap, after some years succeeding the former senior monk, began the building of a church of stone. The before mentioned knight (Herbert the Butler) had great power in the Vexin, and being possessed of great wealth and surrounded by sons and valiant relations and kinsman was exalted above almost all his neighbours. His wife's name was Rolande, daughter of Odo de Chaumont, who bore him Godfrey and Peter, John and Walo, with several daughters, by whom he had a numerous posterity. The father and brothers of whom we are speaking were all knights of distinguished courage, and, as far as outward appearances, of approved conduct both towards God and man. The mother has been all her life of exemplary virtue, being still living, though her husband and children are numbered with the dead. By the kindness and assistance of this family, the chapel of St. Nicholas, the bishop, was erected, with a convenient house for the monks, who live regularly and cultivate peace; and so it remains to the present day.

At the same time Fulk, son of Ralph de Chaudrei, had the greatest regard for the venerable Roger [de Hautrive] on account of his many virtues, so that he begged him kindly to be sponsor for his son at the holy font of baptism, which he willingly undertook. Their acquaintance and regard gradually increasing, he granted to his gossip the church of St. Martin de Parnes, the parish church, at which a congregation was assembled from seven neighbouring villages on appointed days to offer prayers to God, and to hear his praises and precepts in a becoming manner. The worthy father coming to Parnes, Fulk, with the consent of Wascelin his brother, gave to St. Evroult the church with

all the dues belonging to it, and one plough-land in the same vill, and the tithes of his plough, with two houses and one mill called *Barre-chemin*. He also gave to the monks the archdeaconry which he held in fee of the archbishop of Rouen by inheritance from his ancestors, and he also granted to the monks the lordship of all the householders in Parnes, on condition that if they made any defeasance to the lords, they should not forfeit their houses, but be mulct in some other way. The inhabitants of Parnes¹ were delighted at having the monks for their lords, hoping that under their protection they should be safe from the inroads of the Normans in the neighbourhood, from which they frequently suffered. In the course of time, when Goisbert the physician was prior, Fulk gave the ground for the cemetery to promote the building of a new church. The foundations were then laid, but the work proceeded slowly through many hindrances for twenty-four years, and is not yet completed.² Fulk, the knight I am now speaking of, was brave and high-spirited, ardent in all his enterprises, irascible and fierce when roused to arms. He was very ready to lay violent hands on the property of others, and imprudently scatter his own in order to gain the empty honour of being accounted liberal. He took to wife Ita, daughter of Heremar de Pontoise, by whom he had Walter and Mainier, Hugh and Gervase, Heremar and Fulk, with a daughter named Luxovie. Mainier and Fulk were devoted from their infancy to a monastic life, but the other four sons followed the career of arms.

Fulk's character being, as I have observed, so unstable, he sometimes honoured the monks, and stoutly defended them against all adversaries, while at other times he grievously oppressed them. There lived at Parnes, serving God under the monastic rule, the old Roger and Goisbert the physician, Robert the Bald, John and Isemberd, with several others, of whom Bernard, surnamed Michael, and Reginald,

¹ Parnes, near St. Clair-sur-Epte. See note on the vassals of the church, b. iii. c. 5.

² The date to be assigned to the erection of this remarkable church is a question of some importance in the history of art, as the apse, like that of St. Clair-sur-Epte, is polygonal, and not semicircular, a rare occurrence in the churches of Normandy.

Theodoric, and Walter the Bald, with William of Caen, surnamed Alexander, after spending their lives devoted to pious offices, ended them there, and were there interred with great veneration. The grant of all that Fulk gave to the monks was confirmed by Robert the Eloquent, of Chaumont, who had the lordship in chief. Not long afterwards, while this Robert was carrying off the booty which he had collected with violence on the lands of St. Ouen, he fell from his horse in full armour, and, his helmet fixing in the ground, broke his neck and he perished miserably. His body was interred by abbot Mainier near L'Aillerie in the chapter-house of the monks of Flavigni, residing there. His sons Osmond de Chaumont, Guazon de Poix, and Robert de Beauvais, confirmed to St. Evroult all that their ancestors had given and granted to the abbey, as before related.

In this manner the monks of St. Evroult obtained the church of Parnes, which was a very ancient structure dedicated to St. Martin, metropolitan [archbishop] of Tours, and in which the remains of St. Judoc, confessor of Christ, are reverently preserved to the present day. Who he was, and whence he came, I shall briefly write in a short passage of this history, faithfully making extracts from a book containing an account of his holy life.

CH. XIII. *Legend of St. Judoc, or Josse, a Breton saint, son of King Howel.*

[ABOUT A. D. 650.] The blessed Judoc,¹ son of Juthail [Howel], king of the Bretons and brother of King Judicail,² being sought for to be elevated to the throne, relinquished the pursuit of learning to which he had devoted himself at Llanmelmon, and went in pilgrimage to Rome with four others. However Haymon, duke of Ponthieu, recognising his noble origin, detained him on the road, and having had him ordained priest, made him his chaplain. After seven

¹ St. Judoc, or Josse, priest and confessor. His death is fixed on the 13th of December, about the year 668. There is an older and more complete account of his life in the *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benidicti*, sæc. ii., which seems to have furnished our author with the materials for his abridged history of the saint.

² Juthail, or Hoel III., who died in 602. Judicail, his son, abdicated in 638, and died in the odour of sanctity the 7th of December, 658.

years Judoc became a hermit at La Broie on the river Autio, where he served God eight years, and fed with the hand several sorts of birds and small fishes, like domestic animals. At one time when he had only one loaf, and divided it among four poor persons, in spite of the remonstrances of his servant Vulmar, God sent him four small boats laden with provisions on the river Autio. He afterwards built an oratory in honour of St. Martin at Runiac on the river Canche,¹ where he lived fourteen years. One day an eagle carried off eleven hens, and the cock last; the man of God made the sign of the cross accompanied by a prayer, when the eagle, shortly returning, brought back the cock and presently expired. Once when Judoc, in company with Duke Haimon, was searching for a suitable habitation in a thick wood, the duke was very thirsty, and weary with hunting he fell asleep, during which the man of God planted his walking staff in the ground and offering a prayer, a spring burst forth on the spot. Sick folk resort there and venerating the saint, drink the water, and are quickly cured. The servant of God constructed in the wood with his own hands two oratories of timber; one he dedicated to St. Peter the bearer of the keys of heaven, the other to the eloquent St. Paul. He afterwards went to Rome, from whence he brought back many relics of saints. Juliula, a young girl who was blind from her infancy, was admonished by a vision to bathe her eyes in the water wherewith Judoc had washed his hands, and upon her so doing recovered her sight. This happened while the man of God was returning from Rome, and a cross of wood being raised on the spot the place was called La Croix.

Meanwhile, in the absence of Judoc at Rome, Duke Haimon caused a church of stone to be erected in the wilderness where the hermit had dwelt, and on his return caused it to be dedicated to the honour of St. Martin, and gave for its endowment a certain vill in his domains, with all its appurtenances. Judoc, the faithful champion for God, there maintained a long warfare, and after happily ending the course of his holy life departed to Christ on the ides [13th] of December.

¹ Near Montreuil, at a place now called St. Josse, from an abbey dedicated to that saint which was built there in course of time.

His two nephews, Winoch and Arnoch, succeeded him, and were accustomed frequently to wash the body and clip the hair of the holy man whose remains long continued to show no tokens of decay. Drochtric, Duke Haimon's successor, had often heard this, but he did not believe it. Rashly determined, therefore, to investigate the matter, he caused the sacred tomb to be burst open, and looking in, started back in terror, exclaiming, "Ah! holy Judoc!" He became instantly deaf and dumb, and his whole body was paralyzed to the day of his death. His wife, struck with alarm at her husband's calamity, poured forth lamentations to God, and for the salvation of his soul gave the two villages of Crespiniac and Netreville to St. Judoc. These events took place in the time of Dagobert, son of Lothaire the Great, king of the Franks.

Isembard of Fleuri,¹ at the command of Abbot Herbald, wrote to Adelelm the monk, that the body of St. Judoc was discovered in the year of our Lord 977, during the reign of Lothaire, son of Lewis, king of France, in the following manner. A certain peasant, named Stephen, who gained his livelihood by being a miller, being admonished in a dream by one clothed in bright robes left his wife and children, and went to the place where St. Judoc was interred, and there became a clerk. No man living then knew the spot where the body of the saint lay, but Stephen, inspired by the vision, began to search within the church, and at the suggestion of Pridian Sigeman, he found the coffin on the right side of the altar of St. Martin. Thereupon, amidst general rejoicings, and while hymns of thanksgiving were sung to God, the coffin containing the body of the saint was disinterred, and lifted from the grave. The news of the discovery was quickly spread, and multitudes of people hastened to witness the disinterment of the holy remains, and to make their prayers and offerings to the saint. Many miracles were wrought on the spot, and diseases of various descriptions were there cured. At last, on the eighth of the calends of August [July 25th,] the

¹ Isembard, a monk of Fleuri, flourished in the latter part of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. On the discovery and translation of the body of St. Josse in 977, the monks of his abbey requested this writer to compose a life of their patron saint.

body of St. Judoc, was deposited with great reverence over the altar of St. Martin.

The very same year, the foundations of a monastery were laid on that spot, means were taken for settling the order of monks, and the venerable Sigebrand was appointed abbot. One night, while the body of St. Judoc was deposited in the church of St. Peter, there were seven tapers before the remains, one of which only was lighted by the sacristan, but while the guardians of the holy relics were asleep, the other six candles were lighted by fire from heaven. So, on another occasion, when the body of St. Judoc was in his own church, a lamp which had been extinguished by the violence of the wind and showers of rain, had its light miraculously restored in the presence of Sigeman.

One Sunday, while Pridian was celebrating a solemn mass, a certain vassal of Count Hilduin, whose name was Garembert, was full of evil designs, wanting to plunder the church at his will, and to substitute for Sigeman an abbot more conformable to his purposes. When, however, it was read in the gospel for the day: "Why think ye evil in your hearts?"¹ the wretched man was smote by an invisible hand, and began to vociferate loudly, and being struck the third time by the power of God, he fell to the earth, vomiting clotted blood from his mouth. After mass he was carried out by order of Sigeman the sacristan,² and on the morrow, by the merits of St. Judoc, recovered his reason. This happened in the time of Hugh the Great.

The same day, a woman named Ostrehilde was intending to leave the church after mass, but her feet were so firmly fixed at the threshold, that no one could release them; she, however, felt no inconvenience except extreme cold from her knees to the soles of her feet. The next day she vowed to become the handmaid of God and St. Judoc; and being immediately relieved, she piously kept her vow.

It is related by the monks Adelelm and Richer, faithful reporters, that while Stephen translated the relics of St. Judoc to the monastery of St. Riquier during the erection of the church, the illustrious Bertsende, the marriageable daughter of Alsinde, suffered great pains from her hips to

¹ Matt. ix. 4.

² It seems that Sigebrand and Sigeman were two different persons.

her feet for two years, so that she could not walk nor even move without the aid of a staff. Having prayed with faith, as well as her mother, before the relics of the holy confessor, she was cured of her infirmity, and her mother was so rejoiced at her daughter's recovery that she made an offering of a rich mantle to the physician who so quickly answered her prayers.

While a man named Robert was travelling alone at mid-day, he saw the spirit of error in the shape of a man, and was immediately struck blind. A long time afterwards, he sought the tomb of St. Judoc, and professed himself his servant before Abbot Guy. The same day blood flowed freely from his eyes, and he recovered his sight, and at vespers publicly declared that he could see the monks sitting on their benches.

Gunzo, a priest of Lorraine, suffered for seven years extreme weakness in his hands and feet. Some one who saw him recommended him to go and find the physician Judoc in Ponthieu. He hastened to follow this advice. On a Sunday, about the third hour, he entered the church, and prayed prostrate on the pavement, which he bedewed with his tears. Having finished his prayers, he rose up sound. Then he joined in the mass with great joy, and gave a faithful account of his recovery to the people, with thanksgiving to God.

Waldemar of Lorraine, having lost his right eye through sickness, determined, by the advice of his friends, on a pilgrimage to St. Judoc. But, missing his way, he happened to light in company with his friend on the fountain which Judoc in his lifetime had caused by his merits to burst forth. Waldemar, seeing a fountain of very clear water, called to his companion to stop, and sat down to rest; presently, he washed his hands and his face in the fountain, and suddenly recovered sight in the eye which was blind. Thus cured, he came joyfully to the monastery, and gave thanks to God, surrounded by rejoicing friends.

Two demoniacs, named Maginard, were set free at the tomb of St. Judoc, and lived long afterwards in the world with sound minds.

Sieburg, wife of Bertrand, a man of distinction, having been subject for ten months to a flow of blood from her

nostrils, was conducted by her friends to the shrine of St. Judoc to obtain a cure. She offered her prayers, but no relief immediately followed, and she left the church sorrowful and full of complaints. But when in bitterness of spirit she had set forth to return home, as she passed a cross set up by the way-side, the blood ceased to flow from her nostrils. Immediately turning back, she retraced her steps to the monastery of the holy man; and her thanksgivings having been offered, she was entirely healed.

Robert de Terouenne, going alone at mid-day to oversee his work in the field, was suddenly seized by the devil, and tormented to such a degree that he was tempted by the adversary almost without intermission to destroy everything, and even to devour men. His three brothers therefore, having kept the fast of the four seasons in June, brought him bound to the tomb of St. Judoc, where they remained from the fourth day of the week to Saturday. From that time the afflicted man began to be more tranquil, and being restored to a sound mind, devoted himself from thenceforth to the service of St. Judoc. At his request abbot Guy ascended the pulpit on the feast of St. John the Baptist, and related the circumstances to the people, pointing out to them Robert, who was present, and publicly testified his own deliverance.

A certain man of ripe years, was for seven years so deaf that he could hear nothing. His wife brought him to the tomb of the blessed saint, where he prayed for a while. Then his wife, by Pridian's order, led him to the fountain of St. Judoc, and three times sprinkled his head with the waters of the fountain. Presently, returning to the church he heard mass, which, for seven years previously he had been unable to hear.

Isembard de Fleuri at the request of Adelelm, wrote these accounts of what happened in the time of Hugh the Great, or King Robert; but since that time the blessed Judoc has not ceased to work miracles in favour of those who offered him their prayers, though from negligence they are not recorded. The rulers of the kingdom being changed, and the nobles engaged in mutual quarrels, the body of St. Judoc was again covered with earth from fear of the enemy, and lay so long in concealment that all those who were

concerned in it forgot where it was deposited. In the time of Henry, king of France, when the monks often complained of their not knowing where their patron saint, the blessed Judoc, rested, the holy remains were divinely revealed to a simple layman, who, pointing out the spot, they were solemnly raised under the superintendence of the abbot and brethren. The monks then admitted the discoverer of the sacred relics into their order, and made him guardian of the holy body, committing to his charge the offerings of the faithful. On the death of the abbot, his successor did not esteem the sacristan as he ought, nor treat him as courteously as his predecessor had done. Whereupon the sacristan, being much aggrieved, got possession of the holy relics by night and carried them with him into France. Geoffrey, lord of Gomerfontaine, honourably received him with the treasure he bore, and appointed him master of the castle church, in which there were four canons, for the term of his life. Some time afterwards, wars breaking out, Henry, king of France, besieged Gomerfontaine with the strength of the French army, driving out Geoffrey, and setting the place on fire. But while the devouring flames were consuming the church and buildings of the castle, and horrible cries were raised by the assailants and the besieged, as happens at such times, one of the canons took the bones of St. Judoc from the tomb, and fled in all haste from the burning edifices. One of the king's soldiers met him on the bridge, and demanded of him what was the burden he carried. Upon his answering that it contained sacred vestments, and his own books, the soldier violently stripped him of all he carried, and took his prize with him to the territory of Parnes. The man's name was Robert, surnamed Meslebren, that is, Mix-bran; he was one of the retainers of Ralph de Chaudri, who was at that time one of the best knights in the French army. The soldier, greatly delighted with the prize he had made, caused it to be carefully deposited in the church of St. Martin, by the priest and parishioners, where, for more than seventy years, it was reverently preserved. Innumerable miracles were there wrought on the sick, and to this day are frequently repeated, when the faith of the supplicants merit relief, as the whole neighbourhood bears witness.

William de Merlerault, a venerable monk and priest, has

composed an excellent work on the translation of the holy body, of which we have only here given a brief account, and of the many cures of the sick performed at Parnes. In this book he truly and clearly relates all the wonderful occurrences connected with the sacred relics. Philip, king of France, was afflicted with fever two years, nor could all the skill of his physicians afford him any relief. At the end of the two years he came to Parnes, and, drinking water made holy by touching the relics of St. Judoc, he spent two nights in prayer before the holy body, and his pains ceased, and he recovered his health on the spot. In consequence, the king made an offering to St. Judoc of fifty sous of Pontoise, and granted a fair, to be held annually at Parnes in honour of St. Judoc, on the third day of the feast of Whitsuntide, confirming the grant by a royal charter.¹

Besides these, many other miracles have been wrought, and continue to be daily performed at Parnes through the merits of St. Judoc, of which some are recorded, but the greater part are buried in oblivion, from the negligence of those who were privy to them, or from the ignorance of those who saw or experienced them. For my part, though I must hasten to other matters which claim our attention, I have most willingly collected some few details relating to you, O holy Judoc, inserting in this imperfect work notices of the heavenly gifts conferred on you, and devoutly extolling them so far as my limited powers permit. I beseech you therefore, O glorious son of the king of the Bretons, and fellow of the angels, that you commend me to God by the efficacy of your merits, and obtain for me admission into the society of the saints, with whom, contemplating in his glory the Creator of all things, I may offer triumphant praises through all ages. Amen.

¹ There are no traces in the French historians of this pilgrimage of Philip I. to Parnes, nor of the grant which resulted from it. We shall, indeed, find him in the sequel suffering from painful and disgusting disorders, which were considered as the punishment of his adulterous connexion with Bertrade de Montfort, but which cannot be identified with the intermittent fever, which is said to have been the cause of his visit to Parnes.

CH. XIV. *Invasion of England by William, duke of Normandy—Battle of Stamford bridge—Battle of Hastings—William marches to Dover—Thence to London, where he is crowned.*

IN the month of August,¹ Harold, king of Norway, and Tostig, with a powerful fleet set sail over the wide sea, and, steering for England with a favourable aparcic, or north wind, landed in Yorkshire, which was the first object of their invasion. Meanwhile, Harold of England, having intelligence of the descent of the Norwegians, withdrew his ships and troops from Hastings and Pevensey, and the other sea-ports on the coast lying opposite to Neustria, which he had carefully guarded with a powerful armament during the whole of the year, and threw himself unexpectedly, with a strong force by hasty marches on his enemies from the north. A hard-fought battle ensued, in which there was great effusion of blood on both sides, vast numbers being slain with brutal rage. At last the furious attacks of the English secured them the victory, and the king of Norway as well as Tostig, with their whole army, were slain.² The field of battle may be easily discovered by travellers, as great heaps of the bones of the slain lie there to this day, memorials of the prodigious numbers which fell on both sides.

While however the attention of the English was diverted by the invasion of Yorkshire, and by God's permission they neglected, as I have already mentioned, to guard the coast, the Norman fleet, which for a whole month had been waiting for a south wind in the mouth of the river Dive and the neighbouring harbours, took advantage of a favourable breeze from the west to gain the roads of St. Valeri.³

¹ This expedition did not sail till the month of September. Tostig arrived first at the rendezvous in the mouth of the Humber with fifty ships, but was driven off by Earl Edwin, and being afterwards joined by the king of Norway on the coast of Scotland, the united fleets sailed up the Humber to the neighbourhood of York. *Huntingdon's History*, p. 209.

² The battle of Stamford Bridge, in which Harold of Norway and Tostig fell, was fought on the eve of St. Matthew, 20th of September. The earls Edwin and Morcar had engaged the enemy five days before at Fulford Gate, and were defeated, the invaders retaining possession of the city of York and the neighbouring country.

³ St. Valeri-sur-Somme. According to Guy of Amiens, the fleet was

While it lay there innumerable vows and prayers were offered for the safety of themselves and their friends, and floods of tears were shed. For the intimate friends and relations of those who were to remain at home, witnessing the embarkation of fifty thousand knights and men-at-arms, with a large body of infantry, who had to brave the dangers of the sea, and to attack an unknown people on their own soil, were moved to tears and sighs, and full of anxiety both for themselves and their countrymen, their minds fluctuating between fear and hope. Duke William and the whole army committed themselves to God's protection, with prayers, and offerings, and vows, and accompanied a procession from the church, carrying the relics of St. Valeri, confessor of Christ, to obtain a favourable wind. At last when by God's grace it suddenly came round to the quarter which was the object of so many prayers, the duke, full of ardour, lost no time in embarking the troops, and giving the signal for hastening the departure of the fleet. The Norman expedition, therefore, crossed the sea on the night of the third of the calends of October [29th September], which the Catholic church observes as the feast of St. Michael the archangel, and, meeting with no resistance, and landing safely on the coast of England, took possession of Pevensey and Hastings, the defence of which was entrusted to a chosen body of soldiers, to cover a retreat and guard the fleet.

Meanwhile the English usurper, after having put to the sword his brother Tostig, and his royal enemy, and slaughtered their immense army, returned in triumph to London. As however worldly prosperity soon vanishes like smoke before the wind, Harold's rejoicings for his bloody victory were soon darkened by the threatening clouds of a still heavier storm. Nor was he suffered long to enjoy the security procured by his brother's death; for a hasty messenger brought him the intelligence that the Normans had embarked.¹ Learning soon afterwards that they had

detained five days by contrary winds, and as it sailed on Michaelmas Day, 29th of September, it probably assembled at St. Valeri on the 23rd of that month.

¹ Henry of Huntingdon informs us that Harold received the news of the disembarkation of the Norman expedition at Hastings on the same day on which the battle of Stamford Bridge was fought, while he was at dinner

actually landed, he made preparations for a fresh conflict. For his intrepidity was dauntless, and his conduct of affairs admirable, while his personal strength was great, his presence commanding, and he had the arts of a persuasive eloquence, and of a courtesy which endeared him to his supporters. Still his mother Githa, who was much afflicted by the death of her son Tostig, and his other faithful friends, dissuaded him from engaging in battle with the Normans; his brother, Earl Gurth, thus addressing him: "It is best, dearest brother and lord, that your courage should be tempered by discretion. You are worn by the conflict with the Norwegians from which you are only just come, and you are in eager haste to give battle to the Normans. Allow yourself, I pray you, some time for rest. Reflect also, in your wisdom, on the oath you have taken to the duke of Normandy. Beware of incurring the guilt of perjury, lest by so great a crime you draw ruin on yourself and the forces of this nation, and stain for ever the honour of our own race. For myself, I am bound by no oaths, I am under no obligations to Count William. I am therefore in a position to fight with him undauntedly in defence of our native soil. But do you, my brother, rest awhile in peace, and wait the issue of the contest, that so the liberty which is the glory of England, may not be ruined by your fall."

Harold was very indignant at this speech. Holding in contempt the wholesome advice of his friends, he loaded his brother with reproaches for his faithful counsel, and even forgot himself so far as to kick his mother when she hung about him in her too great anxiety to detain him with her.¹ For six days Harold sent forth the summons to call the people to arms from all quarters, and, having assembled vast numbers of the English, he led them by forced marches against the enemy. It was his design to take them unawares, and crush them at once by a night attack, or, at least, by a

at York, which was impossible, as the landing was not effected until nine days afterwards. Guy of Amiens says the news was brought by an eyewitness. William of Jumièges agrees with Ordericus Vitalis in stating that Harold received it in London.

¹ This anecdote is copied almost literally from William de Jumieges, b. vii. ch. 35.

sudden onset, and, that they might not escape by sea, he caused a fleet of seventy ships, full of soldiers, to guard the coast. Duke William, having intelligence of Harold's approach, ordered his troops to take to their arms on the morning of Saturday.¹ He then heard mass, strengthening both body and soul by partaking of the consecrated host; he also reverently suspended from his neck the holy relics on which Harold had sworn. Many of the clergy had followed the Norman army, among whom were two bishops, Odo, of Bayeux, and Geoffrey, of Coutances, with attendant clerks and monks, whose duty it was to aid the war with their prayers and counsels. The battle commenced at the third hour of the ides [14th] of October, and was fought desperately the whole day, with the loss of many thousand men on both sides. The Norman duke drew up his light troops, consisting of archers and men armed with cross-bows, in the first line; the infantry in armour formed the second rank; and in the third were placed the cavalry, in the centre of which the duke stationed himself with the flower of his troops, so as to be able to issue his commands, and give support to every part of the army.

On the other side, the English troops, assembled from all parts of the neighbourhood, took post at a place which was anciently called Senlac,² many of them personally devoted to the cause of Harold, and all to that of their country, which they were resolved to defend against the foreigners. Dismounting from their horses, on which it was determined not to rely, they formed a solid column of infantry, and thus stood firm in the position they had taken.

Turstin, son of Rollo, bore the standard of Normandy.³ The sound of the trumpets in both armies was the terrible signal for beginning the battle. The Normans made the first attack with ardour and gallantry, their infantry rushing forward to provoke the English, and spreading wounds and death through their ranks by showers of arrows and bolts. The English, on their side, made a stout resistance, each

¹ Saturday, 14th of October, the day of the feast of St. Calistus.

² About nine miles from Hastings.

³ See in the *Roman de Rou*, t. ii. p. 195, &c., the circumstances which led to this person having the honour of bearing William's standard. According to Wace, it was the consecrated standard sent by the pope.

man straining his powers to the utmost. The battle raged for some time with the utmost violence between both parties. At length the indomitable bravery of the English threw the Bretons, both horse and foot, and the other auxiliary troops composing the left wing, into confusion, and, in their rout, they drew with them almost all the rest of the duke's army, who, in their panic, believed that he was slain. The duke, perceiving that large bodies from the enemy had broken their ranks in pursuit of his flying troops, rode up to the fugitives and checked their retreat, loudly threatening them, and striking with his lance. Taking off his helmet, and exposing his naked head, he shouted: "See, I am here; I am still living, and, by God's help, shall yet have the victory." Suddenly the courage of the fugitives was restored by these bold words of the duke; and, intercepting some thousands of their pursuers, they cut them down in a moment. In this manner, the Normans, twice again pretending to retreat, and when they were followed by the English, suddenly wheeling their horses, cut their pursuers off from the main body, surrounded and slew them. The ranks of the English were much thinned by these dangerous feints, through which they fell separated from each other; so that, when thousands were thus slaughtered, the Normans attacked the survivors with still greater vigour. They were charged home by the troops of Maine, France, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and great numbers of them miserably perished.

Among others present at this battle, were Eustace, Count de Boulogne, William, son of Richard, Count d'Evreux, Geoffrey, son of Robert, Count de Mortagne, William Fitz-Osbern, Robert, son of Robert de Beaumont, a novice in arms, Aimer, Viscount de Thouars, Earl Hugh, the constable, Walter Giffard, and Ralph Toni,¹ Hugh de Grant-mesnil, and William de Warenne, with many other knights illustrious for their military achievements, and whose names merit a record in the annals of history amongst the most famous warriors. Duke William surpassed them all in courage and conduct; for he nobly performed the duties of a general,

¹ Hugh de Montfort, the constable; Walter Giffard, count de Longueville; Rollo, or Ralph, lord of Toni and Conches, standard bearer of Normandy.

staying the flight of his troops, re-animating their courage, their comrade in the greatest dangers, and more frequently calling on them to follow where he led, than commanding them to advance before him. He had three horses killed under him in the battle; thrice he re-mounted, and did not suffer his steeds to be long unavenged. Shields, helmets, and coats of mail were shivered by the furious and impatient thrusts of his sword; some he dashed to the earth with his shield, and was at all times as ready to cover and protect his friends, as to deal death among his foes.

Although the battle was fought with the greatest fury from nine o'clock in the morning, King Harold was slain in the first onset,¹ and his brother Earl Leofwin fell some time afterwards, with many thousands of the royal army. Towards evening, the English finding that their king and the chief nobles of the realm, with a great part of their army, had fallen, while the Normans still showed a bold front, and made desperate attacks on all who made any resistance, they had recourse to flight as expeditiously as they could. Various were the fortunes which attended their retreat; some recovering their horses, some on foot, attempted to escape by the highways; more sought to save themselves by striking across the country. The Normans, finding the English completely routed, pursued them vigorously all Sunday night, but not without suffering a great loss; for, galloping onward in hot pursuit, they fell unawares, horses and armour, into an ancient trench, overgrown and concealed by rank grass,² and men in their armour and horses rolling over each other, were crushed and smothered. This accident restored confidence to the routed English, for, perceiving the advantage given them by the mouldering rampart and a

¹ William de Jumièges says that Harold made a night attack on the enemy, having hastened by forced marches to take them by surprise. Our author's statement, that Harold was slain at the first onset, is a gross mistake, it being universally agreed that he fell pierced by an arrow in the eye after sunset. On the whole, this account of the battle is very unsatisfactory, and far inferior to the picture of it drawn by William of Poitiers, as well as deficient in the circumstantial details given by other historians.

² According to the History of Battle Abbey, it was a ravine or natural hollow, which long preserved the name of *Malfossed* in memory of this event.

succession of ditches, they rallied in a body, and, making a sudden stand, caused the Normans severe loss. At this place Eugenulf, lord of Laigle, and many others fell, the number of the Normans who perished being, as reported by some who were present, nearly fifteen thousand. Thus did Almighty God, on the eve of the ides [14th] of October, punish in various ways the innumerable sinners in both armies. For, on this Saturday, the Normans butchered with remorseless cruelty thousands of the English, who long before had murdered the innocent prince Alfred and his attendants;¹ and, on the Saturday before the present battle,² had massacred without pity King Harold and Earl Tostig, with multitudes of Norwegians. The righteous Judge avenged the English on Sunday night, when the furious Normans were precipitated into the concealed trench; for they had broken the divine law by their boundless covetousness; and, as the Psalmist says: "Their feet were swift to shed blood," whereupon, "sorrow and unhappiness was in their ways."³

Duke William, perceiving the English troops suddenly rally, did not halt; and when he found Count Eustace with fifty men-at-arms retreating, and the count wished him to have the signal sounded for recalling the pursuers, he commanded him with a loud voice to stand firm. The count, however, familiarly approaching the duke, whispered in his ear that it would be safer to retreat, predicting his sudden death if he persisted in the pursuit. While he was saying this, Eustace received a blow between the shoulders, so violent that the noise of the stroke was plainly heard, and it caused blood to flow from his mouth and nostrils, and he was borne off by his comrades in a dying state.

The victory being secured, the duke returned to the field of battle, where he viewed the dreadful carnage, which could not be seen without commiseration. There the flower of the youth and nobility of England covered the ground far

¹ This frightful massacre was made in 1036, during the reign of Harold Harefoot.

² Our author continues his error about the date of the battle of Stamford Bridge, which, as before remarked, occurred on the 20th of September, nearly a month before.

³ Psalm xiii. 3.

and near stained with blood. Harold could not be discovered by his features, but was recognized by other tokens, and his corpse, being borne to the duke's camp, was, by order of the conqueror, delivered to William Mallet for interment near the sea-shore, which had long been guarded by his arms.¹

Inconstant fortune frequently causes adverse and unexpected changes in human affairs; some persons being lifted from the dust to the height of great power, while others, suddenly falling from their high estate, groan in extreme distress. Thus Edith, Earl Godwin's relict, who once enjoyed wealth and influence, was now overwhelmed with grief and a prey to the deepest misfortunes. She had borne seven sons to her husband: Sweyn, Tostig, Harold, Gurth, Alfgar, and Wulnoth. They were all earls, and distinguished for their handsome persons, as well as what the world calls excellence; but each of them underwent a different and disastrous fate. Alfgar and Wulnoth, indeed, feared God and lived according to his laws, and both died in the odour of sanctity confessing the true faith, the one a pilgrim and monk at Rheims, the other at Salisbury.² For the other five, following the career of arms, they met their death in a variety of ways, and on different occasions.

¹ There are various accounts of the circumstances attending the finding of the body of Harold, and the treatment of his remains. Guy of Amiens says that it was mutilated, but the fragments were collected after the battle by the duke's order, and conveyed to his camp, wrapped in a purple winding-sheet. Some of these details are evidently inventions of a later period, but the rest of his story agrees with that of Ordericus and William de Poitiers, and the coincidence of two writers so near the time leaves little reason to doubt that our author was right in adopting their account. It appears from Guy's narrative, that William Mallet was "half Norman, half English," probably one of the Normans already settled in England, and thus better qualified for his melancholy office. A legend entitled *The Life of Harold*, represents that king as having been found on the field of battle among the dead and dying by a Saracen woman, who concealed him at Winchester for two years. It then sends him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and brings him back to England to spend a long life in retirement and austere penitence.

² Our author has omitted to tell us that Wulnoth passed his whole life in confinement, from the time he was sent to Normandy as a hostage by Edward the Confessor, in 1502, except the short interval between his release by the Conqueror, when on his death-bed, and his being again condemned to imprisonment by one of the first acts of William Rufus.

The sorrowing mother now offered to Duke William, for the body of Harold, its weight in gold; but the great conqueror refused such a barter, thinking it was not right that a mother should pay the last honours to one by whose insatiable ambition, vast numbers lay unburied. He issued orders that the bodies of his own soldiers should be buried with the greatest care; and also gave all the English who applied for leave free liberty to bury those of their friends. After providing for the decent interment of the dead the duke marched to Romney, and taking it by assault, revenged the slaughter of a party of his troops, who, having landed there by mistake, were fiercely attacked by the inhabitants and cruelly butchered, after great loss on both sides.

The duke then continued his march to Dover, where there was a large body of people collected, because they thought the position impregnable, the castle standing on the summit of a steep rock, overhanging the sea. The garrison, however, struck with panic at the duke's approach, were preparing to surrender, when some Norman squires, greedy for spoil, set the place on fire, and the devouring flames spreading around, many parts were ruined and burnt. The duke, compassionating those who were willing to render him their submission, ordered them to be paid the cost of rebuilding their houses, and their other losses. The castle being taken, eight days were spent in strengthening the fortifications. While he lay there a great number of soldiers, who devoured flesh-meat half raw and drank too much water, died of dysentery, and many more felt the effects to the end of their days. The duke, leaving a garrison in the castle, with those who were suffering from dysentery, marched onward to complete the subjugation of those he had vanquished. The Kentish men, of their own accord, met him not far from Dover and swore fealty to him, delivering hostages for their allegiance.¹

After that Harold was slain, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, and the great earls Edwin and Morcar, with the other English nobles, who were not engaged in the battle of

¹ According to Guy of Amiens, William remained no less than five days after the battle in his camp at Hastings, and half way to Dover met a deputation of the inhabitants, who offered him the keys of the place.

Senlac, declared Edgar Etheling, son of Edward king of Hungary,¹ son of Edmund Ironside, king, and gave out that they were resolved to fight bravely under that prince, for their country and their nation against foreign enemies.² Meanwhile duke William, having intelligence that they were assembling in increasing numbers, marched with a strong force, and encamping near London, detached fifty knights and men-at-arms in advance, who compelled the troops which issued from the city to oppose them to retreat within the walls, after losing many of their number, to the great sorrow of the citizens, who lamented their sons and friends. Fire also was added to the calamities inflicted on them, all the buildings on that side of the river being burnt. Whereupon the duke crossed the Thames and marched to Wallingford.

Stigand the archbishop, and other English nobles, met him there,³ and, abandoning the cause of Edgar, came to terms with William, to whom they did homage, and being received with favour were secured in all their honours and estates. The Londoners, also, being better advised, now transferred their allegiance to the duke, and delivered to him such and so many hostages as he required. Edgar Etheling, therefore, who had been declared king by the English, having no means of resistance, humbly surrendered

¹ The pretensions advanced by our author to Edward having been king of Hungary, have been already refuted, book i. p. 148.

² Ordericus Vitalis omits to mention among the English nobles one of them who, according to Guy of Amiens, played a distinguished part on this occasion. His name was Ansgard, or Asgar, *stallarius*, constable or master of the horse, who had the command of London, although he was afflicted with an infirmity in the loins which obliged him to use a litter. He it was who conducted the negotiations, the duke having sent him a secret message, endeavouring to deceive him by empty promises, and Ansgard receiving his overtures with intentions quite as insincere. However, the treaty was concluded, and the chiefs of the English party went in procession to William, who embraced the young Edgar. Domesday book, and a MS. of Waltham Abbey, show that Ansgard was a person of great importance, and that the great number of manors which he held in right of his office were conferred on Geoffrey de Mandeville, although William Fitz-Osborn succeeded him as constable. These domains were in Berkshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Essex.

³ It was not at Wallingford, but at Berkhamstead, that William received the submission of the Londoners and English lords.

his person and his kingdom to William. This young prince was of a mild and ingenuous disposition, and being a kinsman of king Edward the Great, as his nephew's son,¹ the duke affectionately embraced him, and treated him all his life with the regard due to a son.²

In the course of three months, by God's providence, tranquillity was restored throughout England, and the bishops and barons of the realm having made their peace with William, entreated him to be crowned, according to the custom of the English kings. This was the great aim of the Normans, who had encountered great perils by land and sea, to procure for their prince the ensigns of royalty; and this, by divine influence, was the desire also of the native inhabitants, who, up to that time, had only given their allegiance to crowned kings.

At that time Aldred was metropolitan and archbishop of York.³ He was a great lover of justice, of mature age, wise, eloquent, and good, and distinguished by many virtues, and following in the footsteps of the fathers, strove earnestly to be received with favour by the King of kings. But Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was too much engaged in secular affairs, and had been suspended by Pope Alexander for certain crimes.

At length, in the year of our Lord 1067,⁴ the fifth indication, on Christmas day, the English assembled at London for William's coronation, and a guard of Norman troops was posted round the abbey, mounted and fully armed, to prevent any treasonable and seditious attempt. Then, in the presence of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, of the whole realm of Albion, Aldred the archbishop consecrated

¹ Edgar Atheling was great nephew to Edward the Confessor, as grandson of his brother Edmond Ironsides. It would appear that he was very young at this time; Guy of Amiens speaks of him as "the boy raised to the rank of king."

² This was hardly the case, as we find Edgar frequently in arms against William, and that he had often reason to complain of his parsimonious conduct towards him.

³ Aldred was appointed archbishop of York in 1060. This prelate had not always been so irreproachable as our author represents, and it was with some difficulty the pope was prevailed on to send him the pallium.

⁴ This date should be 1066; Ordericus has made it 1077, reckoning the year as commencing at Christmas.

William, duke of Normandy, king of England, and placed the royal crown¹ on his head in the church of St. Peter the apostle, called Westminster Abbey, where the venerable king Edward lies interred.

Meanwhile, at the instigation of the devil, the enemy of all good, an unforeseen occurrence, pregnant with mischief to both nations, and an omen of future calamities, suddenly happened. For when Aldred the archbishop was demanding of the English, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, of the Normans, whether they consented to have William for their king, and the whole assembly loudly gave their willing assent, with one voice though not in one language, the men-at-arms, who formed the guard outside the abbey, upon hearing the shouts of joyful acclamation raised by the people in the church in a language they did not understand, suspected some treachery and imprudently set fire to the neighbouring houses. The flames quickly spreading, the people in the church were seized with panic in the midst of their rejoicings, and crowds of men and women, of all ranks and conditions, eagerly struggled to make their escape from the church, as if they were threatened with immediate danger. The bishops only, with some few of the clergy and monks, maintained their post before the altar, and trembling with fear completed the coronation office with some difficulty, the king himself being much alarmed. Almost all the rest hastened to the scene of conflagration, some to make vigorous efforts to extinguish the flames, and more in the prospect of committing robberies in the confusion that prevailed. The English were greatly enraged when they understood the origin of this unfortunate affair, which leading them to suspect the Normans and consider them faithless, they waited for some future opportunity of revenge.

¹ Guy of Amiens, who gives a minute description of William's crown, says that it was the work of a Byzantine goldsmith.

CH. XV. *Notices of authors who have given accounts of the life and times of king William I.—William of Poitiers—Guy, bishop of Amiens—Florence of Worcester, the continuer of Marianus Scotus—Sigebert of Gemblours.*

KING WILLIAM governed firmly and prudently, both in prosperity and adversity, the kingdom he gained, reigning over it with great honour twenty years, eight months, and sixteen days.¹ William of Poitiers, archdeacon of Lisieux, has given a full account of his merits, his excellent institutions, his great successes and brave and wonderful achievements, in a valuable work distinguished for the elegance of its style and its depth of thought. Having for a long period been chaplain to this king, he made it his business to retrace at length, with unquestionable truth and ample details all that he had himself witnessed or been party to; but unfortunately he was prevented by adverse events from continuing his narrative to the king's death.²

Guy, bishop of Amiens,³ also wrote an epic poem, which, in imitation of Virgil and Papinius, describes the battle of

¹ This calculation is right, reckoning as our author does, William's reign from the day of his coronation, Christmas, 1066, to the day of his death, September 9, 1087.

² William of Poitiers' work is entitled: *Gesta Gulielmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum*. It is published in Duchesne's *Receuil des Historiens Normands*, but unfortunately from a very imperfect manuscript.

³ Guy, bishop of Amiens, appears to have been the son or grandson of Walter II., count of Amiens and the Vexin, and consequently brother or nephew of Fulk I., his predecessor, to whom he succeeded before May 29th, 1059. He attended Queen Matilda to England as her almoner in 1068, and died about the year 1076. William de Jumièges refers to this poem, which he says was written in hexameters, and he calls it a respectable work, "*opus non contemnendum*." Dr. Pertz, the learned editor of the *Monumenta Germanica*, discovered in the Royal Library at Brussels, formerly that of the dukes of Burgundy, a manuscript (of the twelfth century) of an anonymous poem, which from the initials W. . . L. . . in the second line (Wuido or Guido to Lanfranc?) and its general character, is supposed to be the work of Guy, bishop of Amiens, referred to by Ordericus. The narrative embraces a period of about four months, and if written by Guy was composed before his journey to England in 1068. The author's official position and proximity to the events described, and the highest personages engaged in them stamp the details with the character of great authenticity; but unfortunately they are very scanty as far as regards the duke's invasion of England. The poem in the Brussels' MS. was published by M. Petrie in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp. 856, &c.

Senlac, blaming and accusing Harold, and highly praising and exalting William.

John of Worcester,¹ a native of England and a monk from his childhood, of venerable character and great learning, in his continuation of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, gives a faithful account of King William and of the events which took place during his reign, and those of his sons William Rufus and King Henry to the present day. Marianus was a monk of the abbey of St. Alban the martyr, near Mayence, where, following to the best of his means, Eusebius of Cæsarea, St. Jerome, and other historians, he kindly employed himself in the charitable office of presenting to such sons of the church as were unable themselves to develop such important results, the happy fruits of his long studies and of the vast labours he underwent in his foreign travels. After carefully consulting both ancient and modern writers, he published his *Chronography*, in which, beginning with the creation, when God formed Adam out of the dust of the earth, and pursuing his inquiries through the books of the Old and New Testament, and the Greek and Roman histories, he collected all that was important; and fixing the chronology through the series of kings and consuls, which he continued to the day of his death, his historical annals are deservedly esteemed. John of Worcester who followed, re-

¹ Florence of Worcester, not John, continued the chronicle of Marianus Scotus, not for almost a century, but from 1083 to 1117, as the French editor of Ordericus justly observes. But our learned fellow labourer has omitted to explain how Ordericus Vitalis, who tells us at the conclusion of the present paragraph that he inspected the original MS. when he was at Worcester, fell into this error. It appears, however, that the continuation of Marianus was carried on contemporaneously by one or more monks of Worcester, and that one of these continuators was named John; so that, probably, Ordericus, finding this John employed on the work, or that his portion of it followed on the labours of Marianus and Florence without interruption in the MS. he examined, hence supposed that the whole of the additions were made by him. In corroboration of this supposition it may be observed that a person named John appears in the MS. of C.C. Coll. Library at Oxford, at least as a contemporary interpolator, if not a continuator, and this copy seems to have belonged to the church of Worcester. The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester was first published in London in 1592 from manuscripts then in the possession of Lord William Howard, and afterwards reprinted at Frankfort very faultily in the year 1601. See M. Petrie's Preface to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Marianus Scotus flourished between 1028—1086.

corded the events of nearly a century, and by the order of the venerable Wulstan, bishop and monk, appended his continuation¹ to the Chronicle of Marianus; succinctly relating many things worthy of observation in the histories of the Romans, Franks, Germans, and other nations. Accordingly these chronicles include the whole series of the Hebrew judges, kings, and high priests, from Moses to the destruction of Jerusalem in the reigns of Titus and Vespasian, when the kingdom of the Jews was justly overthrown on account of the death and passion of our Lord. The Chronicles also give the names of all the Roman consuls and dictators, emperors and pontiffs, as well as of all the kings of England, who reigned from the time that Hengist and Horsa made war on Vortigern, king of Britain, to the great injury of the Britons. To these the Chronicle adds the bishops who governed the English church from the time when Pope Gregory commissioned Augustine and Mellitus and other monks to preach the word of God in England, by whom Ethelbert, king of Kent, Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, and other princes of the English nation, were converted to the true faith. Sigebert, a monk of Gemblours,² has extracted many important passages from these Chronicles, omitting however several relating to the insular nations, and adding much valuable information respecting the Goths, the Huns, the Persians, and other barbarous races. I have been anxious to direct attention to these works, in order that inquiring readers may consult them for themselves, offering as they do a rich harvest of instruction, though they are difficult to meet with. For being written by modern authors, they are not as yet got into general circulation. One of these Chronicles I met with at Worcester in England, the other at Cambray in Lorraine. It was kindly shown me by Fulbert, the learned abbot of the monastery of St. Sepulchre, built on the north side of Cambray by the exertions and at

¹ John of Worcester. See the preceding note. St. Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, from September 8, 1062—January 18, 1095.

² Sigebert de Gemblours, born about 1030, died October 5, 1112. He composed, among other works, *Chronicon ab anno 381, quo Eusebius finit, usque, ad annum Christi 1112*, with the additions and continuation to the year 1206 of Robert de Torigni.

the expense of Liutbert, bishop of that city, where his remains were honourably interred.¹

And now, exhausted by my long labours, I sigh for repose and am ready to close this First Book² of the Ecclesiastical History which my faithful pen has compiled relative to contemporary and neighbouring princes and doctors of the church. In the books which follow I shall speak more fully of King William, and describe the untoward changes in the state of affairs, both in England and Normandy, looking for honour or reward neither from the conquerors nor the conquered.

¹ Liutbert, bishop of Cambray, who founded the abbey of St. Sepulchre in 1064.

² This was originally the first book of our author's history, books i. and ii. in the present arrangement having been afterwards composed.

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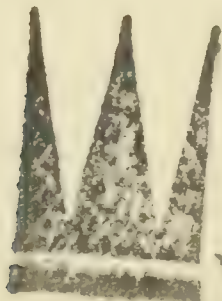
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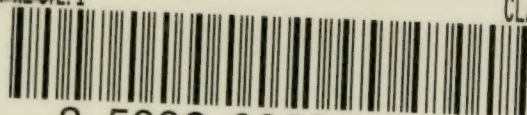


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